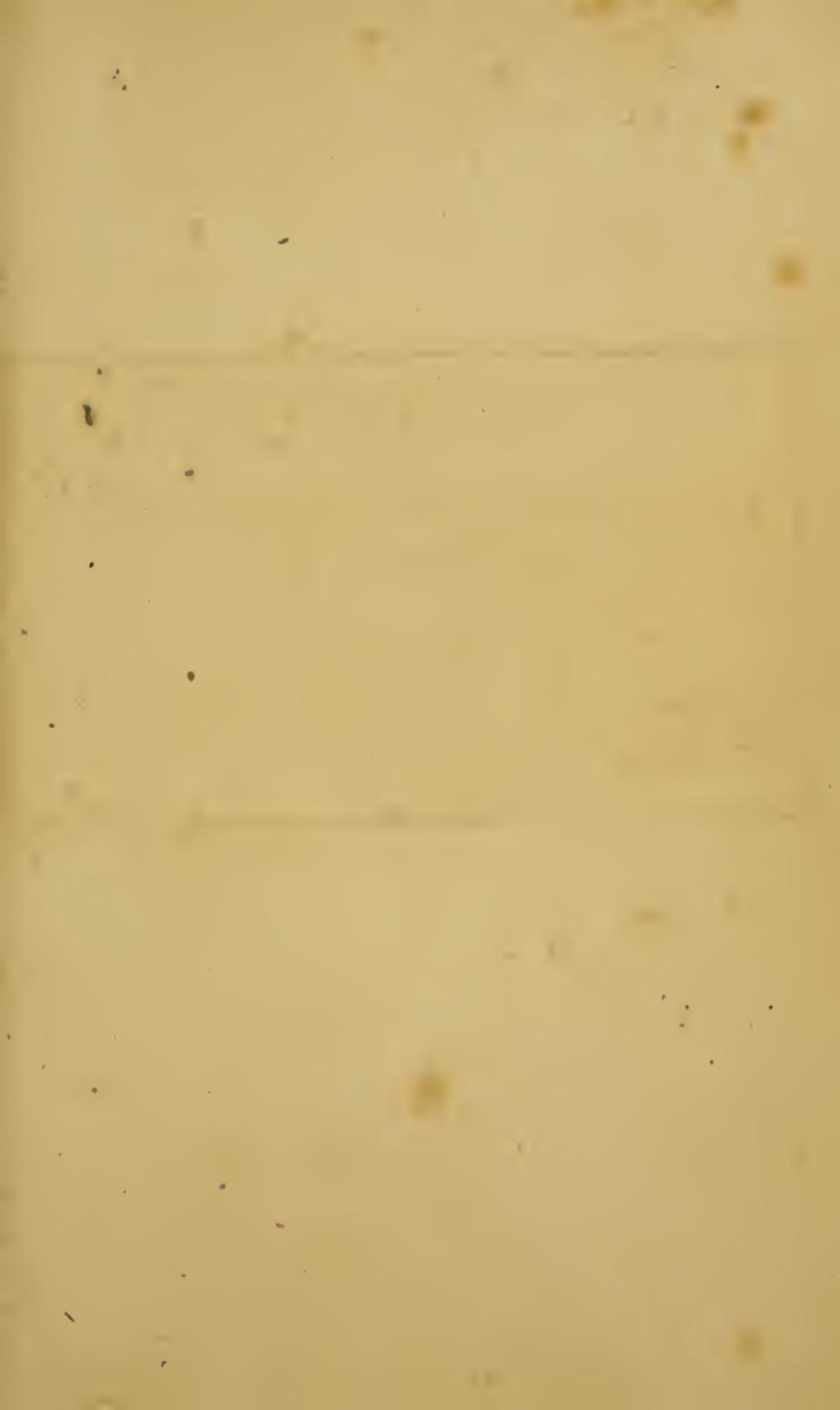
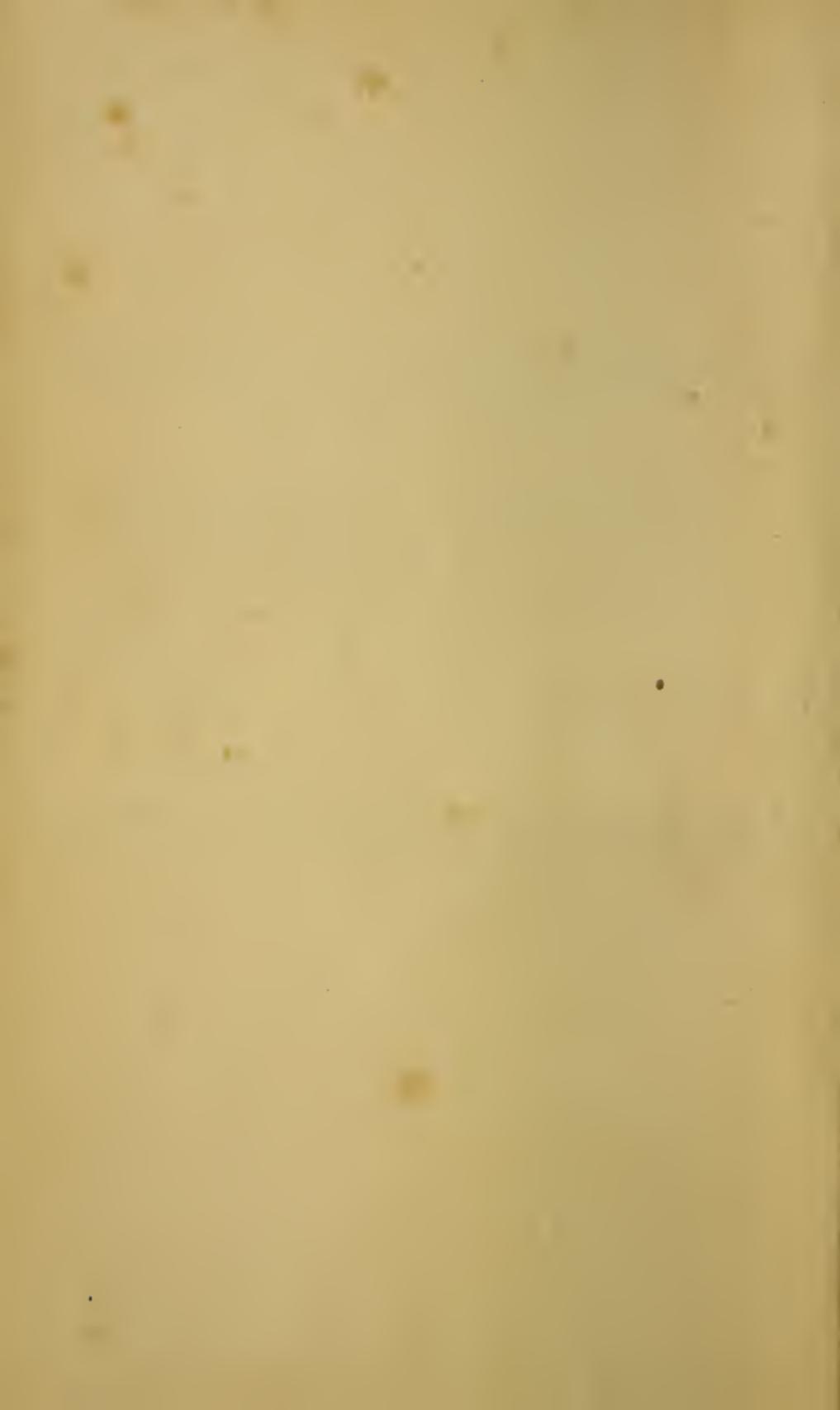


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VOL. VII.

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PLANCK'S INTRODUCTION TO SACRED PHILOLOGY  
AND INTERPRETATION.

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EDINBURGH:  
THOMAS CLARK, 38. GEORGE STREET;  
J. G. & F. RIVINGTON, LONDON;  
AND W. CURRY, JUN. & CO. DUBLIN.

MDCCCXXXIV.



INTRODUCTION  
TO  
SACRED PHILOLOGY  
AND  
INTERPRETATION.

BY  
DR. G. J. PLANCK.

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TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL GERMAN,  
AND  
ENLARGED WITH NOTES,

BY  
SAMUEL H. TURNER, D.D.

PROF. OF BIB. LIT. AND INTERP. OF SCRIP. IN THE THEOL. SEM. OF THE  
PROT. EPIS. CHURCH, AND OF THE HEB. LAN. AND LIT. IN  
COLUM. COL. NEW YORK.

EDINBURGH:  
THOMAS CLARK, 38. GEORGE STREET.  
MDCCCXXXIV.

J. THOMSON, PRINTER, MILNE SQUARE, EDINBURGH.

## ADVERTISEMENT.

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THE Publisher of the **BIBLICAL CABINET** thinks it right to mention, that this edition of Planck's work on Sacred Philology, has been undertaken under the express sanction of the learned **PROFESSOR TURNER**, who originally translated it, and on the recommendation of the Rev. **THOMAS HARTWELL HORNE**.

He feels confident that the sanction of the former divine, who has contributed so largely to promote the study of sound Biblical learning in America; and the recommendation of the latter, who has so eminently distinguished himself in the same important cause in Great Britain—will be accepted by the Theological Students of this country, as the very best guarantee for the value

of the Book which he has now the honour to present to the public.

*Edinburgh, October 1834.*

\* \* \* The references to Mr. Horne's Introduction, throughout the volume, have been made to the Edition just published, being the Seventh.

## TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

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THE author of the work now presented to the American public, is principally distinguished in his native country for his numerous writings on Ecclesiastical History. The following translation is a small part of his large and valuable Introduction to Theological Literature in general. The subject of it, is Sacred Philology and Interpretation. The Translator is induced to publish it, in the hope that it may facilitate the pursuit of these studies to young men preparing for the ministry, and may also be acceptable to men of intelligence generally, who comprise within the circle of their literary reading, those topics which are connected with a fundamental knowledge of the Bible. The want of some

general work on these two points, has often been felt by him while endeavouring to direct the Biblical studies of candidates for the ministry; and, upon reading the introduction of Dr. Planck, he resolved to translate those sections which relate to philology and interpretation, and to add such notes as the nature of the subject appeared to require. Young men, just entering on a course of critical and exegetical study, feel the want of some small work, which shall lay before them a general view of these subjects, presenting in a clear light, fundamental principles, directing their attention to the more important topics, and pointing out the sources from which more extended information may be derived. The manual now offered to the reader is not, in all respects, such an one as the writer could wish. Composed forty years ago, and with particular reference to the state of learning then subsisting in the author's native land, it might reasonably be expected that additions would occasionally be necessary, in order to adapt the book in some degree to our own age and country. The reader will find some additions of this kind in the accompanying notes.

In adding to the literary notices of the several subjects presented in the course of the work, the intention was, to select such books as a student may read or refer to with most advantage. To append a list of all the publications which have appeared since the author's age, would have required a volume. The effect also would be to disgust the reader by a display of literature, rather than to allure him to the study of philology and interpretation, by introducing him to a few able and attractive guides.

When books in German are mentioned, I have endeavoured to put the English reader in possession of the subject of them, by a translation.

The duty of studying the Bible in the Hebrew and Greek originals is now more generally recognized by students of theology than it was a few years since. The Protestant principle, which subjects every theological opinion to the test of scripture, evidently requires the candidate for the ministry to prepare himself for the office of a religious instructor by such a method of study, unless peculiar circumstances should make it impracticable for him to do so. The policy of such a course is also equally evi-

dent. For, although in the outset, the advancement of the student may be slow, yet in the end the acquisitions which he will make are not only more solid, but more extensive, than can be gained by pursuing any other method. If this little work shall contribute to aid the student in his progress, or excite him to industry in the pursuit, the translator will feel that the time which he has devoted to it has not been uselessly spent.

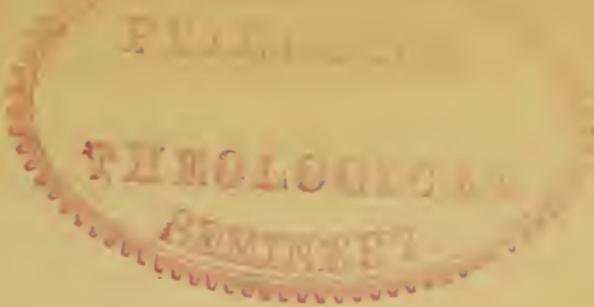


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## INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER,

BY THE TRANSLATOR.

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WITH the view of giving the reader a clear impression of the design and plan of the author, I prefix this preliminary chapter, which contains an outline of those parts of Dr. Planck's introduction which precede the translated chapters.

The author begins by remarking, that the changes which have affected theological literature, in common with other branches of knowledge, require a correspondent change in the method of pursuing it, and consequently new and additional directions in order to study it to the best advantage. To furnish such directions, adapted to the improved state of science and literature of his own age, is the design of his work.

But, from the very nature of an introduction, it must be evident, that it does not profess to instruct the reader in the whole science of theology. It can only present to his mind a view of its outlines, assist him in filling up the picture, and present it to his eye in attractive colours. It must give him clear ideas of its object and design, and also of its general form and

character, so far as these can be determined by means of the others. It must show the mutual connection of the different parts of each branch, and also that in which the whole subject stands to learning in general. It must point out the most direct and the best method for a successful prosecution of the study, develop the sources of information relating to it, and give a history of its literature.

Here it is to be particularly observed, that an introduction to theology is not to be an introduction to any one particular system. It is not its object to place the student in a situation, from which he will be able to take only a partial view of the truths to which he is to be conducted, or, to see them only in one particular direction. The impropriety and dishonesty of such a course are evident. Its object is—and this is the only method by which the cause of truth and learning can be advanced—to place him in a condition to examine every thing for himself with unprejudiced impartiality; to teach him how to form a judgment respecting the materials which the subject presents to him, a judgment founded upon a faithful and complete representation of whatever ought in reason to have influence. Nothing but this can form the theologian who thinks for himself, and any other kind it is not desirable to form.

An introduction to theology must carefully avoid whatever may be regarded as mere learned form. Whatever information it has to communicate, it must endeavour to lay before the reader in such a manner that a sound understanding can readily comprehend it without the aid of a learned apparatus. Otherwise

it will be of little utility to one who is entering upon the study of divinity, for whom it is principally intended, or to general readers. For the same reason, it should avoid a show of literature. This is undoubtedly one of the worst errors into which an introduction to any department of learning can fall. Nothing is more alarming to a beginner than a long catalogue of literary works, with which he is to become acquainted ; and if it should not alarm him, it will certainly discourage him from attempting to use them, through despair of being able to master the whole. An introduction should limit itself to such works as are of most utility and importance, and to such as have constituted epochs in the history of the literature belonging to the subject.

With these views, the author proceeds to state the plan of his work. It consists of three sections. The first is devoted to a development and illustration of the general ideas by which the object, design, and compass of the whole science are marked out. The second examines the connection of theology with those other branches of literature, from which it must derive preliminary knowledge, or is able to borrow assistance. The third and last, which is unavoidably the most comprehensive, relates to theology itself in its various departments.

In pursuing the outline, I shall be as brief as possible, marking out the divisions of the original into sections and chapters.

## SECTION I.

CHAP. I. II. THEOLOGY is the science of religion ; the learned knowledge of those doctrines and truths, which instruct us in our relations to God, in the duties which we owe him resulting from those relations, and in the hopes which we may venture to build thereon. Christian theology is founded upon a divine revelation. It has for its object those doctrines which have been communicated from God, by Christ and through his instruction, and which, consequently, were not discoverable merely by the usual methods of ascertaining truth in all other departments of knowledge, but by means of a divine arrangement altogether extraordinary. The internal character of the truths themselves, and the external importance attached to them in consequence of their origin, demand the conclusion that they are far superior to the objects of all other sciences.

III. IV. If now it be allowed that these truths are the most weighty, and the design in reference to which they are to be studied, the greatest, the most interesting, and the most worthy of exertion, it evidently follows that they are deserving of the utmost degree of attention. They are the foundation of our happiness, the security of our hopes, and consequently must be settled upon the firmest basis, upon grounds on which we may rely with confidence. And how is this to be done ? Only by placing ourselves in a condition to examine those grounds and to try their character, and thus to arrive at convic-

tion in our own minds ; in other words, by making our knowledge of these subjects a learned knowledge. This point the author proceeds to discuss, obviating the usual objections brought against learning in connection with theology, and remarking that all the errors and heresies which have distracted the church, may be traced to causes very different from learning. In a multitude of instances they have arisen and spread, not because their authors and abettors were learned, but *because they were not learned enough.*

v. vi. vii. The next point examined relates to the qualifications which are necessary for the study of theology. It requires the same mental endowments which are called for in cultivating any other science ; an ability to comprehend, connect and compare abstract ideas—such a degree of discrimination as is sufficient to enable a man to judge of the characteristics of truth and falsehood, and to separate the one from the other—a perception of truth, not innate, but acquired by mental discipline—and a memory sufficiently clear to call up the knowledge required for daily use, without confusion or error. It is true, indeed, that the want of these qualifications in a considerable degree cannot be regarded as a sufficient reason for deterring a man from the study of theology, provided he have no other view but to examine the subject for his own satisfaction, although the knowledge he may be able to acquire must be proportionably weak, obscure, and destitute of proper arrangement. But the case is different when his object is to prepare himself for communicating instruction and satisfaction to others. It is but too probable

that religion may be injured by means of the inadequacy of such men ; while, on the other hand, it is impossible to say what benefits may result, by the direction of Providence, from their efforts, if their imperfect knowledge be accompanied by pious zeal. How far it may be right and expedient to encourage such persons to pursue a course of theological study, with the view of becoming ministers of the Gospel, is a question which requires the exercise of prudence, piety, and good sense. General regulations on points of this kind, established by legitimate ecclesiastical authority, are not to be disregarded, in the hope that divine Providence will counteract the injurious effects which might otherwise result.

But in addition to mental endowments, moral qualifications are necessary. It is too plain to require evidence, that the object in view can never be attained, unless the soul be animated by a deeply felt principle of piety. The inquirer must be guided by religious reverence, by humble distrust of his own views, and by habitual recollection of the narrow limits to which the powers of his understanding are confined. These points it is unnecessary to illustrate. They must force themselves upon every one's observation. But there are other moral properties which must be possessed and cultivated, in order that the study of theology may be pursued with the greatest prospect of success. The author proceeds to state the following :

In the first place, the student must possess a supreme love of truth, free, as far as possible, from prejudices, or at least sufficiently influential to enable

him to sacrifice every prejudice to truth, when discovered. This will propel him to exertion, and he will take all necessary pains to make himself acquainted with what God hath revealed, simply for the reason that God hath revealed it.

A second requisition, intimately connected with the former, consists of a settled resolution of mind not to be terrified by doubts, and in the search after truth, not to leave any doubt unexamined. No doubts that can be suggested need produce alarm. Either they are of such a nature, that a competent and careful inquirer—and none other is here contemplated—may be able to meet them, and satisfy himself of their fallacy ; or else, they are too powerful to be resisted by learning and argument, and should therefore be gladly admitted as beneficial to the interests of progressive truth.

Lastly, there must be conscientious fidelity in adhering to the convictions which the mind has received. I do not mean an obstinate stubbornness, which will listen to no further arguments, and is determined to adhere to principles once adopted, notwithstanding the strongest impressions produced by more correct views: this is nothing less than bigotry. I mean, that the sentiments once embraced, after sufficient investigation to satisfy the inquirer of their truth, ought not to be relinquished until he is satisfied, by equally strong and clear evidence, that they are erroneous, and have consequently been hastily or incautiously adopted.

viii—xv. In continuation, the author takes a view of the whole study, and of the general subjects which

it comprises. He distributes it into four principal departments. First, **EXEGETICAL THEOLOGY**, comprehending apologetic divinity or defence of revealed religion, the history and establishment of the canon of Scripture, and sacred philology with interpretation. Second, **HISTORIC THEOLOGY**, the various divisions of which he lays before the reader, together with a view of its utility. Third, **SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY**, (founded in all its parts upon the Bible,) comprehending doctrinal, moral, and symbolic<sup>a</sup> divinity. The first of these three epithets is intended to mark out the general system of Christian doctrine, and the last those particular systems which have been embraced by different Christian churches respectively. The nature of the intermediate is plainly determined by its name. Fourth, **APPLIED OR PRACTICAL THEOLOGY**, that is, whatever is comprised under the terms, homiletic, catechetical, and pastoral theology. He then proceeds to discuss the questions, whether the study of all these branches is necessary for instructors in religion ; and if so, in what measure ? He lays down four general directions for a proper study of theology, and concludes the section by giving some of the principal works in which those of a more particular and definite nature may be found.

## SECTION II.

1. II. THIS section is devoted to a consideration of

<sup>a</sup> From *συμβολὴ*, the symbol or creed of each particular church.

those branches of knowledge, which are preparatory and subsidiary to theology.

The author begins with a knowledge of languages. In order to perceive the bearing of this study on theology, it may be proper first, to take a view of its necessity in general. This arises from the three following considerations:—It aids our progress in thinking;—it is necessary in order to enable us to impart our thoughts and sentiments to others,—and to make their thoughts and opinions useful to ourselves. The two last are self-evident, and, of course, require no illustration. The first may at first view appear to some to be paradoxical: but a close examination of the subject will show the truth of this position, that we improve in learning to think, in proportion as we improve in learning to speak, and therefore, that an acquaintance with language is as necessary to our own clear and comprehensive thinking, as it is to communicate our thoughts to others.<sup>a</sup> Hence, then, it evidently fol-

<sup>a</sup> This observation, which is one of great practical importance, might easily be illustrated, by showing, that in general those writers, whose acquaintance with languages is but limited, are more remarkable for inaccuracy in forming or developing their thoughts, than others, whose philological knowledge is considerable. In theological controversy, its truth is most conspicuous: and many a discussion of this kind would have been crushed in its very bud, if the disputants had formed clear conceptions of the litigated points, and had been able to define, with tolerable accuracy, the terms they employed. “Explain terms”—is one of the rules laid down by Claude, in his admirable Essay on the Composition of a Sermon, and it is no less important for the theological writer, than for the Christian preacher. It is said of Plato that he

lows, that in the study of theology, as in every other study, a man who possesses an extensive knowledge of languages, will be able to advance with the more facility and speed, and will generally attain the most secure and complete possession of his object. If a certain degree of mental formation and power of judgment, in other words, of acquired ability to comprehend ideas, to work them up, and connect them together, be necessary ; if the total want of this, totally unfits us for the object in view, the acquisition of it in a considerable degree must proportionably qualify us ; and if the study of languages promotes this acquisition, its utility in the study of theology is not to be questioned. The more languages a man understands, the better will he be able to pursue this study with success ; not merely because he has thereby collected more ideas, or put himself in a condition to use the ideas of others, but also, because by studying several languages, he has enlarged his capacity for receiving ideas and forming an accurate judgment of them. This is an undeniably truth, founded in the very nature of the soul.

In addition to the vernacular tongue, the Greek and Latin are absolutely necessary in preparing for the study of divinity, and some living languages, especially the French and English, [German,] highly useful. The Hebrew and oriental languages, in general, are not properly comprehended within the range of preliminary studies ; they constitute a part of the subject accustomed his pupils to define, with precision, the ideas which they attached to language. See *Voyage d'Anacharsis*, Chap. vii. Tom. ii. p. 141, ed. Paris, 12mo, 1810.

itself, and shall afterwards be brought into view under the head of sacred philology.

III—V. The importance of acquiring an accurate and extensive knowledge of our own language, and of cultivating the Latin and Greek, as those which contain the best specimens of composition, and present the powers of the human mind in the strongest light, is examined and vindicated against some modern objections; and this part of the subject is closed by exhibiting the claims of the French and English. The author then proceeds (VI—XII,) to other preliminary and auxiliary branches of knowledge, such as logic, metaphysics, natural theology, morals, and history; pointing out the utility and importance of each department.

### SECTION III.

WE now enter upon the third section, which includes the largest portion of the work, and is an introduction to theology itself. It is divided into three parts, exegetical, historical, and systematic theology. The first comprehends apologetic divinity, or defence of revealed religion and of the scriptures, the history of the canon, sacred philology, and interpretation. Dr. Planck's observations on the two latter subjects are given to the reader in full, in the subsequent translation; those on the former may be found in the following abstract.

## APOLOGETIC DIVINITY.

I. The design of apologetic divinity is evident from the very name. In the nature of things, theology must, in the first place, establish its claims to divine authority.

Since this department may very easily be confounded with another, it becomes necessary to define, with some degree of accuracy, the great object which it has in view. Its attention is directed to the proofs of the divinity of our religion, that is to say, of the divine origin and divine authority of the doctrine of our Lord and his apostles. This is a very different point from the inspiration and divinity of the writings in which that doctrine is contained, although the difference has often been overlooked, and thereby a confusion of ideas has arisen, which has not been without an injurious tendency. The proof of the one is of a very different kind from that of the other, and the arguments, which support the divinity of the doctrines, are, alone, incompetent to establish that of the writings. It must consequently be maintained on other grounds.

II. The next point relates to the manner in which apologetic divinity must suitably accomplish its object. The first rule is, to conduct the defence with a view to the attacks to which the divine truth of Christianity has, in the greatest degree, been exposed. It has very often been forgotten, that it is not merely the object of this branch of theology, to remove objections, to solve doubts, and to lessen the force of

discrepances ; but it is also bound to advance positive proof. Many, who have attempted to defend the cause of Christianity, have supposed that they have accomplished the latter, when they have done nothing more than a part of the former.

III. Two principal methods of argument have been employed ; that which defends the truth of revelation on internal evidence, and that which considers the whole subject in the light of a historical fact, and derives its conclusion from external proof.

In the former class of argument, three points have been urged as of principal importance. The first consists in that eminent superiority which revealed religion possesses over what is called natural, in imparting to us so much knowledge which this cannot possibly communicate, and which nevertheless is necessary, because indispensable to our happiness. Revelation fills up the void which nature is incompetent to satisfy. It must therefore be divine, as none but God can make such disclosures. The second point is, the correspondence of the instructions imparted by revelation with what our own reason recognizes as true and noble and suited to our destination ; and hence the inference is drawn, that these instructions must have been communicated from above, since the men who first published them to the world could not possibly have derived them from any other source. The third and last point which has been adduced in this argument is, the influence which the doctrines of revealed religion exercise in the soul. Here experience has been appealed to, in order to show, that its truths produce a stronger impression upon man

than all other known moral doctrines ; that thereby his will is more powerfully directed, his heart more powerfully moved, and his whole nature more steadily excited to attain excellence, than by the operation of all others. Hence it has been concluded, that some higher power than that which ordinarily accompanies truth, must be connected with the truths of Christianity, and from this it has been inferred that the origin of these truths is divine.

In the latter method of argument, that which maintains the truth of revealed religion on external evidence, there are also three prominent points, which have been regarded as sources of proof. Unlike the former class, these three are the only external sources of argument.

The first, and that which has been principally employed, is the proof from miracles, to which the greatest force has been attributed. Its validity depends upon the supposition, not to be denied, that the Almighty would not permit an impostor to exert a supernatural power, by means of which all mankind might be deceived in a matter relating to their highest interest. This being granted, nothing more is necessary than to establish the historical truth of the miracles of our Lord and his apostles, and it follows that their doctrine is from God.—In a manner very similar is the same conclusion drawn from the prophecies which are contained in the scriptures. If some of those prophecies can be proved to be real predictions of future contingencies, that is, of such events as no human prudence and sagacity could foresee, it is unquestionable, that a divine power co-operated in producing them ; as none

but that being whose understanding is infinite, could possess a previous knowledge of such events.—In modern times a third source of external proof has been employed, derived from the human credibility of the founder of our religion and of his apostles. The intermediate steps necessary to establish this argument, are easily supported. That Christ and his apostles are worthy of the highest degree of credit, which can possibly be given to men, is evinced from their character ; from their personal circumstances ; from the circumstances of the time and nation in which they appeared ; from the object which they had, and which alone they could have, in view ; from the internal marks of truth, not to be mistaken, which are discoverable in their writings ; from the whole spirit of their instructions ; and even from the declarations of their most inveterate enemies. And when this previous question, the credibility of our Lord and his apostles, is settled in opposition to all doubts, we may infer the divinity of their doctrine either immediately, or by aid of the argument derived from the performance of miracles.

That all the proofs, above stated, are not equally satisfactory and conclusive, will be evident to every thinking mind ; and, consequently, it must be equally evident, that apologetic divinity requires very critical investigation, much impartiality in examination, and great logical precision in argument.

IV. v. The author now proceeds to a literary history of the subject, and gives a brief account of the principal works which have appeared in defence of revealed religion, from the apology of Justin Martyr

to the productions of his own day. He then adds (vi;) some directions for the best method of studying it with most success.

In the first place, he earnestly advises all who enter upon the study of theology, not to investigate the proofs of the divine authority of revealed religion without bringing themselves to feel, that the subject is not destitute of difficulties. Thus they will not satisfy themselves too easily with the strongest proof that may be most accessible; nor will they want a sufficient interest in the examination, to induce them to take pains in removing difficulties, the weight of which they have felt.

In the second place, a man must study the proofs of divine revelation for himself, he must himself investigate and examine, he must see with his own eyes, in order to form conclusions of his own reasoning. Let him analyze every proof presented to him, let him consider whether the consequences deduced are really legitimate, or whether they are in any degree unfounded. Thus, let him establish his positions on incontrovertible ground, and draw his conclusions in a logical manner, and then only can he feel conscious of possessing a true, useful, and satisfactory proof of the divine origin of Christianity.

Lastly, when a man has examined a proof, and satisfied himself that it is one on which he may safely rely, he should then subject it to the test of the doubts and the thorough investigation of others. Let him procure some work, which attempts to overturn the proofs of revelation, and is especially directed against that in favour of which his judgment has decided. Let him

remove all the objections which it contains. Let him ask himself whether his argument can be defended against them ; and if so, in what manner,—what reply can be urged on the other side. The result of such a trial of the strength of an argument, can never be prejudicial to the cause of truth.

#### HISTORY OF THE CANON.

I. By the very significant word **CANON** is understood, in the theology of the present day, the collection of those writings, which, on the testimony of the church in the earliest age, are attributed to inspired authors : in other words, the aggregate of those books which we consider as divine, because we believe in the inspiration of their authors, and which, for this reason, we distinguish from other books, the writers of which cannot be proved to have been inspired. In a proper history of this subject, therefore, it is necessary to show, why each individual book contained in the sacred collection of the Old and New Testaments is regarded as canonical, or how it acquired its canonical authority ; that is to say, on what grounds the certainty or credibility rests, that its author was inspired.

II. The first point in this discussion is, to determine the authenticity of each book asserted to be canonical ; and, after this, the genuineness of each must be proved. To both these, it is important to add, a knowledge of the period in which they were composed, of the circumstances connected with their origin, of the object for which they were written, and of the persons for whose use they were principally

prepared, and to whom they were originally directed. The nearer we can arrive at certainty on all these points, the stronger must be our conviction of the truth of the others.

III—X. The author proceeds to suggest some considerations on the best way of meeting the requisitions, and on the materials on which the proof of the above particulars can be founded. He then discusses the methods in which the inspiration of the Scriptures may be thought to be satisfactorily argued, and, after establishing this most important principle upon **DIVINE ATTESTATION**, the testimony of Christ, and making some useful observations with respect to its application, he gives a literary history of the subject, from the first century to our own. This account comprehends a brief notice of the most important works on the subjects above stated, which have appeared since the Reformation, together with a sketch of the controversies and discussions which have arisen, either on the subjects themselves, or on points connected with them. As a minute detail would be inconsistent with the design of this introductory chapter, the reader is unavoidably referred to the learned author himself for particular information.

PRINCIPLES  
THEOLOGICAL  
EXEGETICAL THEOLOGY.  
PART I.

---

## SACRED PHILOLOGY.

### CHAPTER I.

THE third of those different branches of literature which belong to exegetical theology,<sup>a</sup> is what is called SACRED PHILOLOGY. It may readily be supposed, that this term must comprehend, at least, more kinds of knowledge than one, each of which again must bear its own appropriate appellation. For this reason the extent of sacred philology may be very variously determined, and this has frequently been the case, as at different periods a greater or less degree of knowledge has been assigned to it; but this variableness is of no more importance than the names that may be given to the particular parts of which the subject is composed. It is quite a matter of indifference to what these names are applied, and in what manner, provided they are applied, so as to comprehend the whole. No apology therefore can be necessary, if, in this work, whatever belongs on the one side, to an

<sup>a</sup> The two former are apologetic divinity, and history of the canon, as stated in the introductory chapter.—*Tr.*

acquaintance with language, and, on the other, to the knowledge of criticism required to settle and explain the true sense of our holy Scriptures, is appropriated to the department of sacred philology. Criticism, it is true, might be represented as a distinct branch of knowledge, and philology be confined to acquaintance with language, yet it can produce no inconvenience if the application of the term be so extended as to comprehend both.

By the view already suggested, a three-fold object is proposed, with which sacred philology is to be employed, or to which its labours must be directed. The knowledge of languages, to be given or collected, by its aid, forms two divisions, for it is well known that our sacred books were written in two different languages; criticism constitutes its third part. What learning is required in order thoroughly to investigate this subject, why a laborious investigation of it is necessary, and what assistance is offered for the purpose, are the points which it is my intention to examine, and to place in a clear light.

If we commence with considering the knowledge of languages necessary to explain the New Testament, it is known to all, that it is the Greek in which the writings belonging to this book were composed. Yet it is also equally known, that this Greek language of the New Testament is very widely different from the actual language of ancient Greece and its national writers. There was formerly indeed a class of theologians, who were ready to charge a man with heresy, if he only intimated that the apostles had not written pure Greek; but they are now entirely extinct, and at

present it is universally acknowledged, that the dialect of the New Testament contains a multitude of peculiarities, which are as foreign to the true Greek idiom as their occurrence in the language of the apostles is natural.<sup>a</sup>

Of the truth of this, a man may convince himself at any moment, by an experience which is incontrovertible. Whoever has learned Greek merely from the New Testament, or, in other words, whoever, according to the method which not a very long time since prevailed in almost all our schools, has learned only the Greek of the New Testament, will undoubtedly find the Greek of Demosthenes, of *Æschines*, and of Thucydides, as strange and unintelligible as Arabic. He may be able to translate the whole of the New Testament, but he will not be able to translate a single sentence from the works of those authors; and, on the other hand, if he understand these, the language of the New Testament will no longer be altogether strange to him, although still not altogether familiar. This betrays, too plainly to be mistaken, an

<sup>a</sup> I have retained the word “dialect” which is used by the author, although it is not considered by some critics as accurately applied to the Greek of the New Testament. See a very able article on the nature and character of this Greek style, by Henry Planck, son of the author of this work, in the Biblical Repository, conducted by Edward Robinson, D. D., late Professor Extraordinary in the Theological Seminary at Andover, vol. i. no. iv. pp. 638—689. Also in the Biblical Cabinet, vol. ii. p. 91, &c. In this Essay, the influence of the Macedonian conquests, and also of the Hebrew language on the Greek of the new Testament, is traced by the hand of a master.—*Tr.*

intermixture of the peculiarities of a foreign dialect, or rather of an entirely foreign tongue, which must be found therein ; and, indeed, if the reader is not altogether unacquainted with the intermingled language, it will strike his eye at the first look.

He immediately meets, for instance, with idioms of the national language, which was vernacular in the provinces in which the authors of those writings lived, and among the people from whom they descended. He observes whole phrases, literally translated from the Syro-Chaldaic, the language in common use in those countries. In very many turns of expression, in the peculiar use of several particles, in the manner of connecting particular phrases and words, in the frequent repetition of certain figures of speech, he immediately recognizes men, accustomed from childhood to think in an oriental tongue ; and from these indications he is led to conjecture, independently of much examination, that many of their expressions must not be understood in the signification which they bore in pure Greek, but in that which the correspondent expression in the national language conveyed, and which is merely thereby translated.

And if he have no previous acquaintance with this intermingled language, the result will still be the same. Every foreign language, which a people receive merely as adventitious, and which they are forced to receive by outward circumstances, must unavoidably be commingled with the more ancient native tongue, if it cannot fully supplant this tongue ; and it must be commingled most unavoidably by the lower classes, who have not acquired either language according to the

rules of grammar, but merely by intercourse with others, and through necessity. But, as certainly as the former observation expresses the fact with regard to the Greek language, which was employed by the Jews in the time of the apostles merely in their intercourse with foreigners and strangers; so is the latter applicable to most of the writers of the New Testament, who, with the exception probably of St. Paul and St. Luke merely, had undoubtedly no other facility in the use of language, than that mechanical ability which intercourse, hearing, and exercise, can supply.

It is evident, then, that nothing but a miracle could have enabled the apostles to speak and write pure Greek, and this miracle would have been, not only without an object, but in direct opposition to the object in view, since it would have made them less intelligible to the very men, to whom they were immediately to announce the doctrine of Christ, and among whom they were first to bring in circulation the sentiments of his new religion. It was therefore not only a groundless notion, but in fact somewhat irrational, which, from reverence to the Holy Spirit, by whom the Scriptures were inspired, was maintained in former times, and supposed to be obligatory, that they are written in the very purest dialect. On the contrary, their allowed inspiration would rather justify the previous conjecture, that their language cannot be pure Greek. For, undoubtedly, the reasoning is clear and satisfactory, that if these writings are inspired, they are probably composed in the popular language of the men for whom they were immediate-

ly intended, and, consequently, in the corrupt dialect intermingled with Hebraisms and Chaldaisms, into which the genuine Greek must unavoidably have degenerated among the Jews in Palestine. Yet these conjectures and suppositions are by no means necessary, for the evidence is conspicuous and incontrovertible, and they are the less necessary, as at present a divine is scarcely to be found who doubts the fact.

## CHAPTER II.

IF now this is this case with the language of the New Testament, which is at present distinguished by the name of Hellenistic, it becomes of itself abundantly evident, that a particular study of this language is necessary, and also why it is so. This necessity is the stronger, as the want of an accurate acquaintance with it may, and inevitably must give rise to proportionably erroneous interpretations, and to misconceptions of the meaning.

This acquaintance is necessary in order to understand a multitude of phrases in the New Testament, which are transferred immediately from the Hebrew, and translated not at all in the spirit, not at all in the form of thought, but merely into the words of the Greek language. To the expressions, “kingdom of heaven, Spirit of God, visitation,” and many others, which occur so frequently in the Hellenistic dialect, the pure Greek idiom attaches no clear sense, because they were either never used by real Greeks, or never in the sense of the sacred writers. And, as little does

it know of the significations which the former so often gave to its connecting words and particles, of which it will be sufficient merely to refer, as examples, to the two prepositions *ἐν* and *ἐπί*, which in the New Testament are so very often employed, contrary to all Greek usage, merely in the signification of the Hebrew prefix *בְּ*.

But, without accurate acquaintance with this dialect, the reader is in the most difficult situation, when he meets with words, in themselves pure Greek, and also in the sense in which they are in part taken pure Greek, but which, by the intermixture of a Hebrew idea, may have acquired some modification, either extending or limiting their application. Cases of this kind occur, not only very often, but probably much oftener than is supposed, or has yet been ascertained. When the apostles endeavoured to express in Greek the ideas which they had formed for the most part in Hebrew or Syro-Chaldaic,<sup>a</sup> they could not always find words altogether adequate to convey the entire thought with all its intended bearings, as it was connected in their minds with the Hebrew word. They selected, therefore, the term which expressed their conceptions the most fully, and in its customary acceptation came nearest their whole idea, or else that which was a literal translation of the Hebrew word, although in its usual signification designating something else; but still it was their intention to express thereby the very same idea, which the Hebrew word usually suggested to their minds.

<sup>a</sup> Or, at least, according to the Hebrew or Syro-Chaldaic idiom.—*Tr.*

With regard to many words, very frequently occurring in the New Testament, this case undoubtedly applies. When, for example, the apostle wished to express the idea of the Hebrew word **שָׁלוֹם**, simply the Greek *εἰρήνη* presented itself to his mind ; but as the Hebrew term conveyed to a Jew much more than the other did to a Greek, we may certainly suppose, that the apostle also intended the surplus idea to be attached to the word, and therefore, in interpreting, the Greek idea connected with *εἰρήνη* must be amplified or elevated, according to the Hebrew suggested by **שָׁלוֹם**. The same is undoubtedly true of the words *δίκαιος*, *ἄγιος*, *δόξα*, *ἀληθεία*, the meaning of which, in the language of the New Testament, is certainly much less frequently that of the pure Greek usage, than of the Hebrew words with which they correspond, and of which they are a translation.

If, then, a person is not acquainted with this peculiarity of the language, he will be the less able to avoid the danger of an error in explaining the writings composed in it, because he may the more readily commit one unconsciously, and without observing it. If such expressions are interpreted according to the ordinary and incorrupt Greek usage, a meaning is certainly gained, and, indeed, in very many cases, a meaning which appears to be sufficiently appropriate. The older divines, who formerly applied to the word *δίκαιος*, wherever it occurred in the New Testament, only the Greek forensic meaning of righteous, were always able to give sense and connection to the places where they thus explained it ; and yet the interpretation which

this led them to give it in some places was very unsound, since, with respect to many, it can be incontrovertibly proved, by a more accurate acquaintance with the usage of the New Testament, that the sense which should be expressed, is not that more limited one, but rather the more comprehensive signification of the Hebrew **צְדִיקָה**. Without this acquaintance, then, it is, in such cases, very possible indeed to miss the sense of the sacred writer, at the very time when we suppose that it can be found with the greatest ease, and that we have found it with the greatest certainty ; and principally on this account is the study of this language altogether indispensable, to enable us to interpret with security and confidence.

These remarks, on the peculiar characteristic of the New Testament language, are sufficient to show the importance of studying it. But it is not so easy to perceive what helps can be obtained in pursuing this study ; and, in fact, we are restricted to an extremely small number.

The most natural and useful must immediately occur to every one. Since the peculiarity of this Hellenistic dialect consists in the intermingling of the Hebrew and Syro-Chaldaic idioms with the pure Greek, an acquaintance with the two former languages must, of course, throw the most light on it. But, notwithstanding this, it is very evident, that we could succeed much better, particularly, we could distinguish the intermixture with far more accuracy, observe it, probably, much more frequently, and note its characteristic marks with much more certainty, if we were in possession of many works of this period, written in

the same dialect. But here we are completely at a loss ; for even the writings of the almost contemporaneous Philo, in which something illustrative might be looked for, are in language so entirely different in its construction, that they can afford but little aid to interpretation, in the comparison in which we would willingly employ them, however important may be the assistance they can offer it in other respects.

We have yet another source from which we may derive assistance in cultivating a knowledge of this dialect, a source which, although not contemporaneous, is, on that account, in other respects the more useful. I mean the Greek version of the Old Testament which is known by the name of the Septuagint. This is not only, for the most part, composed in the Hellenistic language, but it may be considered in a certain view as its original source.

As to the precise time when this version came into circulation, we are quite as much in the dark as we are concerning the causes that originated it, and the persons by whom it was brought to a termination. The old legend of Aristeas respecting the seventy interpreters, who, at the wish of Ptolemy Philadelphus, were despatched from Jerusalem to Alexandria, and there inclosed in as many separate cells, but so inspired by the Holy Spirit, that each produced a translation corresponding word for word with those of the others, is now universally held to be, what it certainly is, a fable. From internal evidence, however, it is demonstrable that this version cannot be the work of one translator ; for a comparison of particular books display such a difference, in respect to the style, the knowledge of

language, and the attention paid to the translation, that it must be considered as the production of many persons, very unequal in diligence and ability. Hence we have also sufficient grounds for the supposition, that the translation was probably not occasioned by one external cause originating in some coalition, neither did it arise at one time, or was even completed in one place, but that, in its present state, it may have grown out of a selection from different translations of the several books already extant after they had been collected. But who caused this collection to be made, and brought together the separate translations into one whole, are points of which we know nothing ; only it is probable that this was done originally in Egypt and at Alexandria ; and it is certain, that in the time of Christ and his apostles, this version was in general use even among the Jews in Palestine.<sup>a</sup>

This last circumstance, the truth of which is unquestionable, is principally important in showing its utility in illustrating the language of the New Testament. In this version the Hellenistic language must

<sup>a</sup> This remark is connected with the previous question, “ whether the Greek or Aramæan language was employed in Palestine in the time of our Lord and his apostles.” As the truth seems to be that both these languages were then in use in that country, the reader is referred to the dissertations of Pfannkuche and Hug, in the Biblical Repository, vol. i. no. ii. pp. 317—363, and no. iii. pp. 530—551, with the introductory remarks of the editor in no. ii. pp. 309—317. (See also Bib. Cab. vol. ii.) He will there find a brief historical sketch of the controversy on this subject, and a view of the evidence in favour of the use of each language respectively.—*Tr.*

originally have been formed, for in it the Greek was employed probably for the first time to express the sentiments of the Jews on national and religious subjects, which had always before been conceived exclusively in Hebrew. In part the character of these sentiments, and probably in part also the character of the translators, made it unavoidable, that the Greek of the version should receive a considerable accession of oriental forms ; and to this the desire of the latter to leave a translation as literal as possible may perhaps have contributed. This peculiarity of the version would in the greatest degree favour the general estimation in which it was held by the Jews, as this estimation also must necessarily in course of time have made the Greek of the version the common dialect of the people. Men who belonged to the lower classes of the nation, as the apostles undoubtedly did, probably derived from it all their knowledge of the Greek tongue.<sup>a</sup> The religious sentiments of the whole nation were moulded in no other Greek form but that in which they had been received in this translation, for the people were accustomed from child-

<sup>a</sup> As most of the apostles were natives of Galilee, or lived in that country, near which numbers of persons had long been residing to whom the Greek language was vernacular ; it is evident that the intercourse with those persons which the ordinary occupations of life required, must have obliged the apostles to use the Greek language as spoken by them. St. Paul, who was a citizen of Tarsus in Cilicia, no doubt used the Greek as there spoken, in his intercourse with his Gentile fellow-citizens. The declaration of the author requires, therefore, some modification.—*Tr.*

hood to think of them in no other. It was therefore no more than merely natural, that this form should show itself also in the language of the apostles.

From this statement, it becomes exceedingly evident of what use this version is, in aiding the student to acquire a more correct acquaintance with the language of the New Testament. It is evident to every one who looks into the subject, that a multitude of turns of expression and other peculiarities by which the Greek of the New Testament is distinguished, are derived immediately from the Septuagint, where they had before been used. It is impossible, therefore, to doubt that these idioms are of oriental extraction, and that the sense to be given to those expressions must be Hebraistic, since a comparison of them with the original, infallibly shows what the translators intended to denote by them. And even with regard to those oriental forms connected with Greek expressions, of which the Septuagint affords no examples, at least none precisely verbal, it can very often be shown that they were framed by the authors of the New Testament, only in accordance with the spirit, and according to the analogy of similar expressions, which they had found in that version.

This translation, therefore, is of the very highest importance ; it is an aid in acquiring a correct knowledge of the language of the New Testament which is altogether indispensable, and the more especially as it is almost the only one that we possess.<sup>a</sup> Yet it is quite

<sup>a</sup> When it is considered that the character of the Greek of the New Testament is not Hebraistic merely, but partakes

clear, that a part of its utility must arise from an acquaintance with the original language of the Old Testament. This also becomes therefore important in a variety of views, for in many respects it becomes immediately necessary in order to understand the New Testament. But in reference to this language nothing need be said in the present chapter, since, from its own importance, or on account of those books of our holy scriptures which the Old Testament comprehends, it constitutes the second leading topic of sacred philology.

### CHAPTER III.

THAT, in order to attain a knowledge of the Hebrew language, a particular and appropriate study is required, and why this is the case, it is certainly unne-

also in a considerable degree of that which distinguishes the later and less elegant Greek writers, who flourished after the formation of the common dialect, and the influence of the Macedonian conquests on that dialect; it must be evident, that, in addition to the Septuagint version, there are other sources to which the student should apply in order to form a correct acquaintance with the language of the New Testament. These he will find pointed out in the Essay of Planck before referred to, Bib. Cab. vol. ii. p. 111, &c. He divides them into three classes; first, writers subsequent to the age of Alexander; second, writers who have treated expressly of this style, viz. the grammarians, scholiasts, and lexicographers; and third, writings which have come down to us composed in the later diction, such as the Alexandrine and other Greek versions, the New Testament itself, the Apocryphal books of the Old and New Testaments, and the apostolical fathers.—*Tr.*

cessary to show. We see, at the first look, that it has so much that is peculiar, characteristic, and, especially in comparison with our modern and western languages, remarkable, that its acquisition cannot be facilitated by an acquaintance with most others: and yet, in another view, and in consequence of other circumstances, we might almost as easily be led to suppose, that, notwithstanding this, the particular study of it need not demand extraordinary exertions.

Although, in forming an acquaintance with this language, we are forcibly struck with its peculiarities, yet we soon perceive also that they are few in number and have little variety. The characteristic properties which mark its formation, its connections, its inversions, must undoubtedly be altogether new to one, who from his youth has always been accustomed to a western language; but, on the other hand, it remains the more constant, it is subject to fewer changes, it has always the same forms, which the reader meets with the oftener, and, which is of the greatest importance, the whole language is poorer in words and expressions than any other with which we are acquainted. This circumstance, together with that first adverted to, must very considerably diminish the difficulty of acquiring it. For if the last only be considered, it will appear very natural, that a language containing only about seven thousand words, which is the number assigned to the Hebrew, should be learned much sooner than another which possesses a richer vocabulary.

This mode of estimating degrees of difficulty is certainly in itself quite correct, and it would undoubt-

edly follow from it, that the study of the Hebrew language must be easier than that of any other, were it not for one particular circumstance, which again completely destroys the facility that might otherwise arise from the causes above stated. In a language which has only seven thousand words, we may without doubt soon acquire a readiness, if we have only sufficient assistance, to enable us to ascertain with ease and certainty the significations in which the words are used. The facility of doing this is in proportion to the number of works which are extant in a language, for the oftener we find a word employed, and employed by various authors and in various connections, the more certain we become as to its meaning, while, on the contrary, the more we are destitute of helps of this nature, the more difficult it must be to arrive at certainty ; and this may make the acquisition of an exceedingly poor language often more difficult than that of the richest. This is unhappily the case with the Hebrew.

It were easy indeed to retain its seven thousand words ; but to fix the signification of these words with some degree of certainty costs the more labour, because we have no other Hebrew work but those which are comprised in the Old Testament ; at least none in the dialect of those writings, and of that age to which they belong. Hence it is, that of these seven thousand words there are many which occur scarcely six or eight times, others which are hardly found three or four times, and there are even some which in all those writings are only used once. How is it possible then, to arrive at sufficient certainty respecting the mean-

ing of these last, by any method, and respecting the meaning of the others, from the few instances in which they are to be met with?

On the one hand there are merely some kindred languages, and on the other some versions, whereby alone we can be properly guided. The former are the Syriac, Chaldee, and Arabic, from which the Hebrew partly originated,<sup>a</sup> and in which it has partly lost itself. Those versions in particular are therefore the most useful, which we have of the Old Testament in these three languages, although the Samaritan Pentateuch also, and the different Greek translations, some fragments of which we still possess, may be used with much advantage. In addition to the Septuagint, we know that six other Greek versions of the Old Testament were composed; for Origin in his Hexapla, besides that and the translations of Theodotion, Aquila and Symmachus, collated a fifth, sixth, and seventh, which were extant in his time, although they did not comprehend all the books of the Old Testament. Since it is now certain that they were all made from the Hebrew text, it is easy to be perceived that they might be as useful for understanding it, as those which we have in the kindred languages.

From these we are not only able to determine with confidence the meaning of the Hebrew words, but we receive also through them, especially through the Arabic and Syriac versions, some light respecting the derivation of many words. From the same source

<sup>a</sup> App. Note I.

we receive farther disclosures relating to the use of proper and figurative language in Hebrew; we find its sense and spirit more clearly expressed in the forms, which are similar, although somewhat differently turned, by which they represent them; we become more familiar with those forms of the oriental mode of thinking; and, lastly, we are able to arrive at more perfect conviction of the correctness of whatever is brought to bear upon the Hebrew text from this source, because we have many works still extant in these languages.

By means of these helps, it is certainly possible to acquire a knowledge of the language of the Old Testament, but only by their means. No one, therefore, will continue to suppose that its acquisition is a very light matter. The application of these helps presumes the study of those kindred languages, and however easy this may be as to the Chaldee and Syriac, it is quite the contrary with the others. In the Arabic, the difficulty arises from its richness, and in the Samaritan, from the total want of documents remaining in it; for it is only in the Samaritan Pentateuch, and in some coins with Samaritan inscriptions, that the language is preserved.

What has been said, is undoubtedly sufficient to give, in general, a just idea of the most important points connected with the study of sacred philology, so far as relates immediately to the knowledge of the languages, which is indispensably necessary to interpret the holy scriptures. It is proper now to treat of the third branch of literature belonging to this subject, namely, sacred criticism. The nature of this

department, and the subjects in which it is occupied, will show in the clearest manner, why it is very properly considered as a part of sacred philology.

## CHAPTER IV.

THE immediate object of sacred criticism is, not to understand and interpret the holy scriptures, but to examine their genuineness and incorruptness, and that not only in general but also in particular places. But even this does not constitute the whole of what this subject comprehends. Criticism must determine, whether the text of our sacred scriptures, in its present state, is, in all its parts, in the same condition in which it originally came from the hands of its authors. In other words, for every separate passage it must give reasons, and satisfactory reasons too, why it should be considered as entirely unaltered, or else as having sustained some change. And, in the latter case, when it has reason to conjecture that an alteration has taken place, its province is, to propose the surest means by which the passage may be restored, with the greatest certainty or probability, to its original condition.

The duty of criticism is, therefore, two-fold: in the first place, to discover the changes which have taken place in the original text; and then, to restore the genuine readings which have been excluded by them. We do not therefore include all that this department comprehends, if we limit our ideas of it to an acquaintance, in all their extent, with those principles, by which the genuineness of a writing may be exa-

mined, judged of, and proved. Undoubtedly criticism is required for these purposes ; but it is required also for more than these ; its application is necessary even in those writings, the integrity of which has already in general been examined and proved.

The integrity of a writing is not necessarily injured by every change which its text may have undergone ; but, for this reason, it may be useful, and important in many respects, to know those changes also which have not directly corrupted a writing. This can afford criticism sufficient employment, even in those writings the integrity of which is already attested, as criticism can here perform sufficient service. It is this especially, which makes it a study of its own, and necessary in relation to our sacred scriptures. That criticism which is only required to prove their integrity in general, is satisfied with very few principles and helps ; but to discover and correct all isolated alterations, in the smallest points, very many more, and in part entirely different principles and helps, are necessary, the application of which is more difficult, even in the proportion in which it often becomes necessary.

Previously to any examination of the subject, it may readily be imagined that there are none of our sacred books, which have not experienced such changes in particular places, and even in a multitude of instances. It is altogether inconceivable that writings, some of which were to be preserved several thousand years, merely by means of transcribed copies, and which were in fact preserved by those means, under the hands of a vast variety of men,

whose opinions respecting their contents were equally various, should have remained, without any alteration, in the state in which they originally proceeded from their authors. It would be necessary, as has been before remarked, to suppose a perpetual miracle through all that period, merely to make this possible; but since nothing in the world justifies such a supposition, we certainly cannot be surprised, if each of those writings discloses innumerable traces of some foreign hand.

Still, however, it is by no means necessary to suppose, that these traces must always have arisen from the hand of a corruptor. It may very well be thought, that in all these changes the text has really not been interpolated or corrupted in its essential contents: but yet we perceive why it may still be very proper, indeed often very important, to trace out these changes by the aid of criticism, although we are previously convinced that essentially no corruption has thereby been produced. Something, nevertheless, has the Scripture thereby lost. The sense of the author may at least thereby be occasionally obscured. A misconception of it becomes now the easier, and, which is of chief importance, we never know with entire certainty, whether changes have not taken place also in matters of importance, and the contents essentially suffered, until we have availed ourselves of all those means by which we can receive certainty on this subject.

It cannot therefore be doubted, that the application of criticism to the treatment of the Bible is quite as necessary and useful, as to that of any ancient wri-

ter. Indeed, with regard to the former, it must be more useful and more necessary, in the same proportion in which its contents are to us more important and interesting. But now the principal inquiry is:—what are the means, by the assistance of which, it may hope to pursue the two objects that belong to it, with some degree of success.

It is certainly not unnatural to anticipate the judgment, that neither the one nor the other can be easy, for it may readily be presupposed that in neither may criticism venture to derive aid or satisfaction from empty conjectures. Merely to suppose that interpolations might be in the text, could be of no more service to us than to frame conjectures respecting the original reading; but even to make such suppositions certain signs and marks are necessary, for these are not matters to be blindly guessed at.

Happily, there are many of those signs and marks, from which more than bare conjectures can be drawn. The knowledge and application of them constitute the essentials of criticism; but the knowledge is as complicated as the application is difficult, and also in but too many cases uncertain.

Four principal sources are usually admitted, from which criticism may draw those indications and helps on which it is principally to rely, partly to ascertain what changes have taken place, and partly to restore the original readings; and from these sources they must, from the very nature of the subject, be drawn.

The first is, an accurate acquaintance with the peculiarities of the language, wherein not merely the

sacred scriptures in general, but each particular book was composed.

The second is a comparison of the various manuscripts or copies which we have of them, originating at various periods.

The third consists of the various translations which have been made of them into foreign languages.

The fourth and last, which must be employed but seldom, springs from the writings and remains of the earlier fathers, and generally of the earlier ecclesiastical writers, who have made some use of the Bible.

It is in general easy to perceive in what manner criticism can avail itself of these four sources, and even what materials, useful for the object it has in view, it may draw from each of them. But, to make use of any one of them, some skill is necessary, and also some directions to enforce caution, because of the number of minor circumstances, by which the nature and import of what is drawn from each may so easily be altered. In forming an estimate of this, such a variety of points must be considered, that it becomes necessary to take some notice of each in particular.

## CHAPTER V.

THE first of those sources of assistance in criticism which have been mentioned—that, namely, which is afforded by an accurate knowledge of the language of the sacred scriptures—is undoubtedly the most natural, and on this account also it is principally to be relied on; and indeed in most cases it is easiest to be

applied. The greatest part of those interpolations, which have arisen merely from incidental errors of copyists, interchange of particular letters, transpositions and omissions, must generally be discovered by this ; and often they are thus infallibly discovered ; for, in the greatest number of such cases, the transcriber must have committed an error, as the altered word must almost always receive a form or termination not analogous to the grammar of the language.

Whenever, therefore, we meet with a passage or a word, the grammatical construction of which is incorrect, or which is connected with another, contrary to the principles and usage of the language, we have just ground for suspecting that, in this place, the text has suffered a change ; and this suspicion rises to certainty, when, as is generally the case, the reading, which is grammatically correct, may be restored by a slight alteration. If, for instance, we find in one place the article *ōs* in the nominative, where the rules of grammar require the accusative, we may believe, with the greater certainty, that *ōv* is the genuine original reading, in proportion as it is easy to conceive how readily the error may have arisen, merely through the interchange of the two letters, from a transcriber acquainted with the language, and much more from one who was ignorant of it.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> In applying the principle laid down in the text, the greatest possible caution is necessary. In the first place, we should be intimately acquainted both with the ordinary and peculiar grammatical forms of the language. Alterations of the text may often be traced to the want of this. Several various readings in Greek manuscripts have arisen from the trans-

In this way, a multitude of errors may not only be exposed, but immediately corrected, by grammatical acquaintance with the language. Only, with respect to the writings of the New Testament, it must be remembered, that a judgment is to be formed, not according to the grammatical principles of the pure Greek, but of the Hellenistic dialect, with which, therefore, it is necessary to be particularly acquainted. If all were to be considered as interpolated which is not pure Greek, or if, among a large collection of various readings, the pure Greek should always be preferred, more interpolations would undoubtedly be made than removed ; and, therefore, we should lay it down as a principle, that when a choice is to be made between two readings, one of which is Hellenistic and the other pure Greek, if in other respects they are of equal authority, the former is to be preferred. Thus, for example, the preposition *εἰς* is used in a multitude of places in the New Testament, where, in every pure Greek dialect, *ἐν* would have been employed, and this has occasionally induced a transcriber to change the former, which he supposed to be erroneous, into the

scribers' ignorance of the principle of attraction. Then again an author may be accustomed to solecisms not occurring in any other writer of the New Testament. Let the critic be on his guard lest he mar the text of his author, at the very time when he imagines that he is correcting it. This has probably been the fact in several instances, and particularly in the Apocalypse of St. John. Comp. i. 5, ii. 20, iii. 12 ; to which several other passages might be added. The case ought to be very clear indeed, to allow the application of the author's principle. The reader will not fail to remark the limitations to which he himself restricts it.—*Tr.*

latter, which in his judgment was more correct. In many of these places therefore we find various readings, of which one has  $\varepsilon i \varsigma$  and the other  $\dot{\varepsilon} \nu$ , and we may almost infallibly conclude the latter to be interpolated, as the use of  $\varepsilon i \varsigma$  for  $\dot{\varepsilon} \nu$  is one of the most remarkable peculiarities of the Hellenistic language, in which, and not in pure Greek, the apostles wrote.

But this knowledge of the grammar and general peculiarities of the languages of Scripture, is not in all cases sufficient: criticism frequently requires a knowledge of those nicer peculiarities, which distinguished various writings composed in the same dialect. In other words, it is necessary not only to possess a general acquaintance with the idioms of the Hellenistic and Hebrew languages, but with those also which are peculiar to each particular author, and form the characteristics of his style.

The variety of these peculiarities in the sacred writers is quite as striking in those who wrote in Hebrew, as it is in those who wrote in Greek. With respect to the former, the length of time which separated some from others must undoubtedly have a bearing on this remarkable variety; for it is inconceivable, that the language of the more modern prophets should entirely correspond with that of Moses, who preceded them about a thousand years. In those writers also, who were much more nearly coeval, the varieties with which the difference of personal character, of the education and discipline by which each individual was formed, and of the course of thought peculiar to each, must mark their language, are as clearly exhibited, as in the works of the contemporane-

ous authors of the New Testament, in which they force themselves on the attention of the reader.

The difference between the style of Jeremiah and that of Ezekiel is as remarkable as that between the mode of writing of the Apostle Paul and St. John. But still, however often and plainly these varieties present themselves on the whole and in general, it requires much more than a grammatical, it requires a very philosophical knowledge of language, to apprehend them in particular cases.

It is very easy to observe, that one writer has used certain expressions in a different sense from another, or has employed certain expressions oftener than the other ; that the connections of his own ideas are designated by his own connecting words ; that he has accustomed himself to certain constructions, inversions, parallelisms, metaphors, or other figures of speech ; that he has taken more or less pains with respect to grammatical correctness, force, brevity, or the harmony and euphony of his style ; and that, consequently, his language assumes a definite character, which it is impossible to mistake. But all these general observations are not sufficient for the use of criticism. It must trace out the reasons of these peculiarities in the particular character of the writer. It must examine, how he has acquired or can have acquired them. It must laboriously apply itself to learn how his language was formed ; and not until then can it draw any sure opinions from these peculiarities, for not until then can it be satisfied, that what it has remarked are not merely incidental varieties of style.

No other knowledge of language than this deserves the name of critical, and we are fully justified in distinguishing it from that which is merely philological or grammatical, for it must be drawn from sources entirely different from this. But it is self-evident, how much it can and must be employed in the criticism of the sacred Scriptures, and how necessary it is in that principal subject, the restoration of the original and genuine readings in interpolated places.

It is very often, for instance, the case in those writings, that transcribers, who possessed no such critical knowledge of the characteristic style of each author, either considered some peculiarity of this kind that occurred as an error, and introduced an arbitrary alteration, or undertook to alter the copy, in order to make the place correspond better with another of similar contents, which dwelt in their recollection, from some other writing. In all such cases, it is evident that nothing can remove the error, but that knowledge of language, to the want of which it is alone to be attributed.

But it cannot be denied, that there are innumerable other cases, in which this help is not of itself sufficient. In by far the greatest number, it becomes necessary to connect with it a second, that, namely, which is offered to criticism by the collation of the different copies of our sacred books which can be procured. This is undoubtedly the resource in which it is necessary for it most frequently to take refuge: and, in the one department of its duty, this can also with the greatest ease, and certainty, afford assistance;

but, it is necessary to add, that in the second and more important, the aid that must be expected from it, is neither so great nor so much to be relied on, as might certainly be wished.

This comparison of various manuscripts may be employed in the detection of interpolated places, with far more advantage than any other means. So soon as various readings are discovered to exist in various manuscripts, it is decided, that in one or more the text must necessarily have undergone a change. And again, when all agree, an interpolation can hardly be supposed, unless in some word a striking grammatical error occurs, which is not to be explained by any peculiarity, elsewhere made known to us, of the sacred writer's style. Indeed, in cases of this kind, it is always somewhat doubtful, when no result is produced by the collation of manuscripts; so that we may almost venture to maintain, that this should never be omitted, if complete certainty is required with respect to an interpolation.

On the other hand, however, in the correction of interpolated places, we may very easily promise ourselves more aid from this means of assistance than it is able to afford.

This inconvenience is principally to be ascribed to the condition, or rather the uncertainty we are in respecting the condition, of most of the manuscripts which we are able to collate. Still, however, notwithstanding all this uncertainty, they are not entirely useless for that purpose: but to make use of them, very many cautions and rules are necessary, which criticism must observe, and conditions, which

it must prescribe to itself. These rules and conditions cannot always be fully complied with ; and, even where this is practicable, they do not always at first afford full and sufficient certainty.

For example ; it may be thought, that the genuine reading of a corrupted passage can, with sufficient ease and certainty, be determined by those which are found in the most ancient manuscripts, and also in the greatest number. Criticism, therefore, really assumes it as a principle, that the reading of an older manuscript is generally preferable to that of one which is more modern, and is with greater probability to be regarded as the original reading ; for it concludes, and not without reason, that the copy which approaches the nearer to the age of the original, must contain fewer aberrations from it than one more remote, or that the writing, which has passed through fewer hands, must have been subjected to fewer changes. And in general this may be perfectly correct. But sometimes this reasoning gives no great satisfaction, for it is only from a certain and definite age of a manuscript that this inference can be rightly drawn ; and then, how many exceptions must be allowed ? how many cases must be granted to be possible at least, which again may cast some doubt on the authority of the oldest copy ?

The most ancient manuscript that we possess can hardly be placed as high as the fifth century,<sup>a</sup> for many critics would make it still more modern. But if it be as old as that century, and if we have many

<sup>a</sup> App. Note II.

of equal antiquity, they are still four hundred years removed from the autographs. In this course of time numerous corruptions may have taken place, and thus it may even be doubtful, whether, in comparing them with more modern manuscripts, a very great degree of importance should be attached to their antiquity.

It is possible that a manuscript, which is two or three centuries later, one for instance of the seventh or eighth century, might be copied from another of still higher antiquity than the Alexandrine; for it may certainly be conceived, that in the seventh or eighth century, a manuscript of the third may have been somewhere concealed. In this case, then, the regard due to antiquity must not be determined in favour of the manuscript written in the fifth century, but of that which belongs to the seventh.

But should it even be supposed, that we are in possession of a manuscript written in the third, or indeed in the second century; can criticism venture to consider its age alone as a sufficient reason for concluding with confidence, that all its readings correspond with the original? If the copy were made by an ignorant, inattentive, negligent, transcriber, and certainly there were such in the second and third centuries, as well as in the seventh and eighth, its high antiquity would not benefit us. Other remarks, therefore, to prove the accuracy of a manuscript, must certainly be added to those, before we can decide upon its genuineness from its antiquity.

More easily still may we deceive ourselves, and to much greater danger of error shall we be exposed, if

we determine the genuineness of a reading by the greater or less number of the manuscripts which contain it, and consequently found our decisions upon the agreement of many against a few.

The reason why the same reading is found in many manuscripts may be this, that they were copied from each other, or that they are all copies of some more ancient manuscript used in common. In this case, they can have altogether no more than one voice, for altogether they prove nothing more than this; that the one manuscript from which they were all copied contained the reading in question.

But frequently a reading may also have been introduced into many copies, on this account, because its very character recommended it in the same way to many transcribers.

Thus, a suspicion of its genuineness may often be excited; for it was frequently the case, that they suffered themselves to be led astray, by plausible reasons, to regard the genuine reading as interpolated, and to introduce in its place another which they supposed to be preferable.

In consequence of these circumstances, criticism, very prudently, has always subjoined limitations to the law, which determines the correctness of a reading by the majority of the manuscripts in which it is contained. It grants no more than this, that a majority of those manuscripts, which can be fully proved to have arisen from different original sources, or, in the language of modern criticism, that are of different recensions, can determine any thing on this subject. If it can be shewn, for instance, that a manuscript,

which was copied at Constantinople, agrees, as to a particular reading, with another made in Egypt, and also with a third derived from the west, then surely a probable conclusion may be drawn in favour of the genuineness of that reading; for all the presumptions for this conclusion are, that the manuscripts belong to different families, and all against it, that, in manuscripts altogether distinct from each other, a passage might be interpolated in exactly the same way.

Yet, however useful to criticism this view of the derivation of manuscripts may be, and this distribution of them into certain classes, which is undoubtedly necessary, it will always involve a multitude of difficulties, which must naturally modify in a great degree its utility. By means of the most laborious researches, the latest efforts of criticism have resulted in the conclusion, that most of the manuscripts which we possess belong to three families, or may be traced to three recensions, the diversity of which cannot be doubted. An Alexandrine, a Constantinopolitan, and a Western copy, may have been the originals, of all the manuscripts, amounting to some hundreds, which we have of the writings of the New Testament. Another recension, arising from Asia, may perhaps be added to these; but here, in too many individual manuscripts, it is exceedingly difficult to determine to what class they belong, since, very frequently, they bear the family marks of several.<sup>a</sup>

But while this subject is unsettled, our conclusions

<sup>a</sup> This subject of recensions will come under consideration subsequently in a note.—*Tr.*

must be proportionably insecure, since, as was before said, we have scarcely any manuscript more ancient than the sixth century ; and, consequently, it is upon the whole quite certain, that the collation of manuscripts can render criticism a service much more to be relied on, in the discovery of interpolations, than in restoring the genuine readings.

Sometimes, indeed, it is happily the case, that these may be ascertained, with the highest degree of probability, from the others. When the manner of a transcriber is thoroughly known, it occasionally, and indeed often happens, that the mere shape of a letter, the position of a line, the form of a mark of abbreviation, the similar sounds of some words, the necessity of a division of a word, and several minor circumstances of this kind, enable us to conjecture with confidence, how the genuine reading became changed in the hand of a copyist. In this way, many discoveries, which are certainly not unimportant, have already been made ; but it must freely be confessed that, in this way, all has not been gained that could be wished, and which, considering the prodigious degree of learning and labour which has already been exhausted, we are doubly tempted to wish for.

Yet this learning and labour are not to be regretted, since assistance of this kind is absolutely necessary for criticism. And, on the other hand, it cannot be doubted, that the advantage, in correcting the sacred text, which criticism might draw from the collation of manuscripts, would be still more equivocal, unless it were able to add also a third means, which is particularly well adapted to try the genuineness of the be-

nefit, which may be derived from the collation of the manuscripts.

## CHAPTER VI.

THE third means just referred to, is afforded by the versions of the sacred Scriptures. These, as we have seen, are very important in reference to an acquaintance with the languages in which they were written, but they may almost be said to be even more so in reference to criticism. There is one circumstance, especially, which makes them so highly useful, although it must be allowed that it is applicable exclusively to the New Testament.

Some of the versions which we have of it are considerably older than all our manuscripts. The Syriac, for example, belongs most probably to the second century. The fragments of the old Latin versions, which are frequently comprehended under the name of Italic, cannot be much later. The Gothic of Ulphilas was made in the fourth century, and of course what remains of it is of the same age ; and of the Arabic versions in our possession, one at least is certainly of very high antiquity.

The importance of this circumstance is extremely evident. In all cases it may be presumed, that these translations were made from manuscripts, which at the time were not entirely new ; and therefore the age of some may have almost reached that of the autographs. Consequently, whenever it can be determined, from one of these versions, what was the reading of the manu-

script from which the version was made, its antiquity gives it an authority vastly superior to that which any manuscript now existing can claim.

That the readings of those manuscripts may often be learned from the versions with the greatest certainty, and how this information may be obtained from them, is self-evident ; but it may also be remarked, that the advantage afforded in such cases is the more important, since, in the nature of the thing, it can scarcely ever exist except in weighty and important variations.

In most of those insignificant changes of reading, where the whole difference often lies merely in the omission of an article, the transposition of a word, or the alteration of the tense of a verb, it is certainly not easy to conjecture, from the versions, what the reading may have been in the manuscript used by the translator. But in such cases as affect whole words commuted, phrases omitted or interpolated, or even sentences and whole periods rejected, the conclusions to be drawn from the versions are necessarily as determinate as they are certain. In such cases, the reading given in the version, may with confidence be regarded as the reading of the manuscript, and the authority of this manuscript may often, with sufficient certainty, be considered as decisive, if it can only be strengthened by some evidence of probability of an internal kind.

Nevertheless, we see very plainly, that even in applying this means, and in drawing conclusions from the versions, very great caution is required ; that it is necessary to have formed a previous acquaintance with

the spirit of each version ; that we must be thoroughly satisfied on this most important point, whether it were made from some other version or from the original ; and then, that we also make all possible allowance for errors of the translator. It is quite evident, that by proceeding in this manner, bringing out these errors and applying these cautions, we may promise ourselves the more advantage from the use of this help in criticism.

This is undoubtedly not the case with the fourth and last means, which criticism may employ. This is to be found in the works of the early fathers, and in general of all the older ecclesiastical writers who made some use of the Bible.

It is by no means necessary in this work to explain in what manner, and to what purpose, and under what circumstances, criticism can avail itself of those works. They contain a multitude of literal quotations from the Scriptures. When cases occur, in which the citations differ from the passages as they stand in our present text and in some manuscripts, a conjecture arises, that the copy used by the author may have contained a different reading, and thus the suspicion of an interpolation is produced. But certainty can never result from this source ; indeed it will scarcely justify conjecture and suspicion. We are never certain whether the ancient author transcribed the quoted passage literally from his copy, or, as was very possible, and in fact was very often done, trusted merely to his memory ; and consequently we are never certain whether the alteration, from which we

might conjecture a various reading to have existed, had taken place in his copy or in his memory.

Yet there are particular cases or interpolations which, by means of this assistance, can be discovered with sufficient certainty. When, for instance, a place is interpolated by the introduction of a supposititious clause, the works of the ancient fathers will sometimes enable us to infer with tolerable correctness, not only the spuriousness of the clause, but also the time when it may have been casually introduced into the text. If the place is quoted by many and various writers uniformly without the addition, this is a certain proof that it was added by some later hand. The first quotation, therefore, in which it occurs, affords grounds for conjecturing when and where the interpolation was first casually made.

Thus, for example, it may be considered as one of the most important collateral proofs of the spuriousness of 1 John v. 7, that no Greek father even to the fourth century seems to have been acquainted with it, as it is cited by none for a considerable time after the breaking out of the Arian controversies; while, on the other hand, the earlier use which was made of it by Latin fathers places it almost beyond doubt, that the interpolation was first made in Latin copies, and from these introduced into Greek.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Griesbach, in his *Diatribe on 1 John v. 7, 8*, at the end of his *New Testament*, gives instances of marginal glosses existing in some ancient Greek manuscripts, which, most probably, by assistance obtained from the *Vulgate*, have given

From this example it is also exceedingly evident, that the conjectures which by these means are afford-

rise to the text itself. These glosses seem to be of the same character as the mode of reasoning suggested by Tertullian and Cyprian, and more clearly developed by Facundus, Augustin, and other Latin Fathers, on the genuine 8th verse, in connexion with John x. 30, who deduce the doctrine of the Trinity by a mystical interpretation of “the Spirit, the Water, and the Blood.” Griesbach says also, that the Lateran council of 1215 first exhibits the entire verse in a Greek version, although differing from the received text in the absence of the article, and the collocation of *πνεῦμα* before *ἄγιον*. In the following century, Manuel Calecas, a Greek who had become a convert to the Latin church, and was perhaps a Dominican friar, in his zeal to establish the addition of *filioque* to the creed of the Greeks, wrote a book “de fide et principiis catholicæ fidei,” in which he endeavours to maintain his position that Scripture adds the Holy Spirit as third to the Father and Son, and introduces these words: Τρεῖς εἰσιν ὁ μαρτυροῦντες, ὁ πατὴρ, ὁ λόγος καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον. He omits ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ and οὐτοὶ ὁ τρεῖς ἐν εἰσιν. But a few more efforts would soon produce the text as now received. Accordingly, in the next, or 15th century, we find another Greek monk, Joseph Bryennius, quoting the very words of the received text with the exception of τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον instead of τὸ ἄγιον πνεῦμα. And it is remarkable that, in the omission of the last clause καὶ ὁ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἐν εἰσιν in the 8th verse, and in the reading ὁ Χριστός εἰσιν ἡ ἀλήθεια in the 6th, the quotation agrees with the Vulgate; and therefore there is considerable reason for suspecting that it was formed by the aid of that version. The same coincidence is to be seen in the Montford manuscript.—Whoever wishes to examine this subject more fully may consult the Diatribe above mentioned, Bengel’s Apparatus Criticus, pp. 452—481, Michaelis’ Introduction, vol. iv. part ii. pp. 412—442, Horne’s Introduction, vol. iv. pp. 462—487, and the authors there referred to.—*Tr.*

ed to criticism, it may expect for the most part to be able to strengthen on other grounds both external and internal; for in the text just referred to, both the contents of the supposititious passage, and the circumstance that it is not to be found in any ancient Greek manuscript, afford more than one weighty reason to confirm the conjecture, that it may have been first introduced into the Latin copies. Hence then the degree of utility which can be afforded by this help to criticism, may also be determined with sufficient accuracy. In connection with the others, it can supply criticism with many very valuable results, but independently, the data which it affords are exceedingly uncertain.

What has been said may be sufficient to give a clear idea of what the object and application of sacred criticism particularly are; for along with the sketch of the means which alone, from its nature it can employ in attaining its objects, must the character of these objects be most perspicuously exhibited.

## CHAPTER VII.

IN giving an account of the literary helps which may be used in the study of criticism and of sacred philology in general, in proportion as it might be necessary to go into particulars, would it be easy to anticipate the great advantages that we might expect to derive from them. It will be useful, however, first to give a brief general view of the history of this branch of theological literature, in order the better to prepare

the reader for marking, from the succession of ages in which the principal works on the subject have appeared, the particular periods of its progress, and its gradually improved condition.

With the exception of the labours which Origen in his Hexapla, bestowed on the philology and criticism of the Old Testament, and those which Jerome applied to the latter, in his Latin version of the Bible, the works of the ancient fathers scarcely furnish any thing, by which the one or the other had been intentionally and directly advanced by them.<sup>a</sup>

Except a few individuals, as Theodore of Mopsuestia, Isidore of Pelusium, Theodoret and some others, they were not only exceedingly destitute of a learned acquaintance with languages, particularly the Hebrew; but, which was still more to be lamented, they had no conception of the necessity of accurate acquaintance with this subject, for the purposes of correct interpretation.

In the middle ages, all learned acquaintance with languages was entirely lost. In consequence of the total ignorance which prevailed on this subject, a great number of the grossest philological errors, which had gradually crept into what was called the Vulgate, that is, the Latin version which was exclusively used in the church, were not observed. Yet afterwards, at the revival of learning in the sixteenth century,

<sup>a</sup> For an account of the labours of Origen and Jerome, see Jahn's Introduction, part i. pp. 51, ss. 75, ss., and the authors there referred to, to which add Masch's edition of Le Long's *Bibliotheca Sacra*.—*Tr.*

this very state of things afforded the immediate occasion for some of its most distinguished restorers to apply their industry to this altogether uncultivated field, and to endeavour to excite a renewed attention to the study of the original languages of the Bible.

This was first done with respect to the Hebrew by the celebrated John Reuchlin, and by the more celebrated Erasmus of Rotterdam with respect to the Greek, and with a zeal and success, which alone must have made their names immortal, if they had performed no other services in the cause of literature.

Erasmus felt the necessity of treating the text of the Bible in a critical manner ; he had even come to the conclusion that for this purpose different manuscripts must be compared, and their various readings collected ; he did this himself in relation to the New Testament as far as he could in his time ; and thus he opened the way to criticism, which was soon afterwards pursued still farther by Beza, the two learned brothers, Robert and Henry Stephens, and some other scholars.

This last discovery was almost too great for the age of Erasmus. On account of the zeal with which he recommended to divines the knowledge and study of the original languages of the Bible, he met with abundance of hostile treatment. Neither he, nor the two Stephenses, nor even the example of the great promoter of the Complutensian Polyglot, was able to awaken a feeling only somewhat general in favour of criticism. But still, learning in languages flourished again in full bloom from their age ; although some

time was allowed to elapse before sacred philology derived from it a real advantage.

Very much on this subject was effected by the example of Melanethon and Luther, who applied themselves to it with the most ardent zeal, and consequently became qualified to offer to the German nation the most beneficial of all presents, in Luther's translation of the Bible. But more efficacious than the example and the exhortations of Luther and Melanethon, was the necessity, which soon pressed upon the divines of the newly established church, to defend themselves against the supporters of the old system, or the desire of being distinguished in all respects from them ; so that by their means an acquaintance with the original languages was soon considered as an indispensable requisite of a learned divine.

Greek and Hebrew studies were now pursued with great ardour by the Protestants, and were also employed with peculiar zeal in making known to the Roman Catholics numerous errors in their Vulgate. But for the more accurate study of the Hebrew their helps were too limited ; and with respect to the Greek, they lost but too soon the proper track which had been first pursued, and consequently missed entirely the right path, which had otherwise been found with so much facility.

Erasmus and Melanethon had proceeded with the study of the pure Greek, of the genuine ancient Greek classics, and this they had earnestly recommended to their contemporaries. Had this course been persisted in, it would soon have been discovered, that the language of the New Testament has peculiarities which

must have been introduced from another source than that, and also that another was required for its illustration. But the whole direction which the spirit of theology had taken at the end of the sixteenth century, and which was introduced in the following, was necessarily unfavourable in the highest degree to this discovery. Exegetical theology was unhappily altogether subjected to the yoke of doctrinal and polemic divinity. It did not venture to look any farther than within the bounds which these prescribed to it; and therefore even the grammar of the languages of scripture was studied with constant reference to them. The prevailing system of divinity imposed laws on sacred philology which it was obliged to respect, and which, in fact, were respected with such obsequious timidity, that it allowed itself even to imagine the Greek style, defended by the advocates of pure doctrinal theology, to be the only ancient and genuine idiom, and it even declared it impious, merely to doubt whether the Apostles had always written in pure Greek.

This was attended with an unfortunate consequence. It soon became the prevailing disposition to learn Greek from their writings alone; and it was said to be learned, when, in determining the signification of their expressions, nothing more was regarded than the convenience which might thereby result, or which had long ago resulted to doctrinal theology. The unavoidable consequences of such a course are shown, even in a stronger light than was absolutely necessary, by the whole state of theological literature in the succeeding century.

In order gradually to bring the subject into its right course, it was therefore very suitable and proper, that in our own age a commencement should again be made to illustrate the Greek of the New Testament from the Greek of the old profane writers, and to observe the advantages which the study of these can afford: for this most immediately prepared the way for the direction which the philological study of the New Testament has taken among us during the last thirty years.

The new acquaintance with the genuine Greek idiom, at last produced the conviction, that the language of the New Testament is not entirely classical, and therefore, that other sources besides the pure Greek writers must be required to explain it. More readily still were these sources found in the Septuagint translation, in the writings of Philo, and in the oriental languages; and as these sources were made purer and more useful, by the industry of many learned men who successively applied their labours to them, and at the same time also the study of oriental literature was carried incomparably farther than it had ever been before, by the application of Erpenius, Schultens, Reiske, Michaelis, and others, it was very natural that sacred philology should soon assume among us a perfectly new form.

With still greater reason may sacred criticism be considered as literature of our age, and altogether new. Richard Simon, indeed,<sup>a</sup> the great man who may be

<sup>a</sup> As the author more than once introduces the name of Father Simon with terms of unqualified approbation, it seems

allowed to occupy a most distinguished place among those who brought it to light, had previously made his appearance. Capel also had preceded him. But the treatment to which these men were subjected, the almost universal cry of heresy with which they were received, and the real persecution which rewarded their labours, too clearly prove the incompetency of their age, even to judge of their discoveries, to say nothing of making use of them.

What they had said of the necessity of a critical

proper to add here a caution, for the benefit chiefly of the young and inexperienced reader. It is not to be denied, that Simon was a critic of prodigious learning, but his judgment in applying it is very questionable. His representations of certain phenomena connected with the criticism and interpretation of the Bible are partial, and appear to border on extravagance, to say the least; and not a few of the conclusions which he draws from them are forced and illogical. The unwary reader of his works might easily be led to suppose, that the authenticity of several books of the Old Testament, and the certainty of the interpretation of them, as they exist in the Hebrew originals, are subjects very much involved in the mists of obscurity and doubt. Thus, according to his prepossessions, he might be led either to scepticism, or to Roman catholic views of the infallibility of the church.

The translator avails himself of this occasion to add, that although Dr. Planck was not of the neological or rationalist school of Germany, yet he often speaks too favourably of those writers whose interpretations are thought by very able critics to be frequently loose, too much accommodated in the Old Testament to Jewish views, which thus sometimes influenced their expositions in the New. I refer to such commentators as Grotius, Le Clerc, and J. D. Michaelis. The reader is hereby cautioned against acquiescing entirely in all the sentiments of the author relating to those writers.

examination of the original Greek and Hebrew texts was almost considered as blasphemy, since indeed, this was to question their genuineness. Thus, instead of applying themselves carefully to ascertain the means by which criticism could be placed in a condition to discover and correct the errors that had crept into the text, the object almost universally aimed at was, to prove that no correction was necessary.

The light against which men had hitherto closed their eyes, was first in our age admitted, in succession, by Mill, Wetstein, and Bengel. They investigated the sources, some of which had already been opened by Simon, and by the use which they made of them, they proved, not only that criticism was harmless, but that it can be made beneficial, in proportion as it is necessary: although the pious Bengel himself was forced to listen to many a bitter reproach on account of the bold audacity with which, as it was thought, he treated the Bible.<sup>a</sup> The labours, in our own age,

<sup>a</sup> The same charge was advanced against Mill. His collection of various readings would destroy, it was imagined, the authority of the sacred text, and this extraordinary supposition is maintained by Whitby, in his *Examen variarum Lectionum Millii*, which was printed at London in 8vo., 1720, and is also appended to the second volume of his *Paraphrase and Commentary on the New Testament*, fol., 1727. Its absurdity must be evident to every reflecting mind, as the collecting of various readings is the only way in which the text can be satisfactorily settled. This is conclusively demonstrated by the learned and acute Dr. Richard Bentley in his *Remarks on Mr. Collins' Discourse on Free Thinking*. The 6th edition of this able work was printed at Cambridge, in

of Michaelis, Griesbach, Matthæi, in the criticism of the New Testament, and of Houbigant, Kennicott, De Rossi, in that of the Old, are well known.

This brief outline of the history of the different treatment which the several branches of literature that belong to sacred philology met with, will enable the reader to form some judgment respecting the different value and utility of the principal literary works relating to the subject. These I shall now proceed to state, in the order of time in which they appeared, confining the selection, however, to the more important and remarkable. It will also be ne-

1725. It was written under the assumed name of Phileleutherus Lipsiensis, that is, in the explanation of the author himself, “a Free Thinker of Leipzig.” This book is worth the attentive reading of every scholar, and especially of the biblical critic.

Further information on the subject of this chapter, and on other points connected with sacred criticism, may be found in the first twelve of Bishop Marsh’s Lectures on Divinity, delivered in Cambridge as Margaret Professor. This work is very accessible to an English reader, and may be read by the young student with much profit, as introductory to a course of critical study.

It cannot have escaped the reader’s observation that the latter part of the author’s sketch relates principally to the history of sacred philology and criticism in his own country. The names of a few of the most distinguished English writers on these subjects, shall be given in subsequent notes, as the subjects of them may require. A complete catalogue would have swelled this work far beyond its intended limits. Such an one may be found in other books, and especially in Horne’s Introduction, seventh edition, Vol. ii. Part ii. Appendix.—*Tr.*

cessary to separate from each other, those which belong to the knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew languages, and also those in which the labours of criticism in relation to the Old and New Testaments are contained. Thus, the valuable helps in each of these departments, afforded by the collections of the learned, can the more easily be perceived, from the improved order in which they are arranged.

## CHAPTER VIII.

WITH respect to the philological knowledge of our Greek text, it is proper, in the first place, to give some account of the discussions and controversies, which were carried on in the last century, and partly also in our own, respecting this important question: Is the language of the New Testament pure Greek or Hellenistic—a pure Greek dialect, or one corrupted with Hebraisms and Chaldaisms?

In the sixteenth century Erasmus and Laurentius Valla had not only intimated, but plainly enough asserted and also proved the latter opinion by various arguments. Many of the best scholars of their time had also very willingly embraced their opinion on the subject, when Henry Stephens, in the preface to his edition of the New Testament, printed in 1576, undertook to oppose them, and to prove that the Greek of the New Testament was pure. This first induced divines to pay attention to the different opinions held on this subject; yet it never assumed the form of a

controversy, until the signal was given by Sebastian Pfochen in the following work.

*Diatrībe de linguae Græcae Novi Testamenti puritate, ubi quam plurimis, qui vulgo finguntur, Ebraismis larva detrahitur, et profanos quoque ductores ita esse locutos ad oculum demonstratur, Amstel. 1629.*

The warmth, evident from the very title, with which Pfochen defended in this work the pure Greek idiom of the New Testament, excited in Holland as well as in Germany many learned men to espouse the opposite side of the question. But again this roused the disposition of others to maintain what they conceived to be the truth, or else confirmed their obstinacy, so that they defended with equal earnestness the positions of Pfochen. Hence a literary war arose, which continued even in our own century.

In 1639, Joachim Jung published in Germany his *Sententiæ doctissimorum quorundam virorum—de Hellenistis et Hellenistica dialecto*, in which he proved against Pfochen, that the Greek of the New Testament is Hellenistic. But in the very next year he was opposed by Jacob Grosse at Jena with a *Trias propositionum theologorum stilum Novi Testamenti a barbaris criminationibus vindicantium*, where he represented all defenders of the Hellenistic idiom as hateful heretics.

In the same year, therefore, Daniel Wulfer wrote a vindication of them: *Innocentia Hellenistarum vindicata*. But now Grosse directed against him his *Observationes pro triade observationum—apologeticæ*; and as the amiable and learned John Musæus,

in a *Disquisitio de Stilo Novi Testamenti*, which he published in 1641, did not altogether declare himself in his favour, he attacked this good man so severely in a *Tertia defensio triados*, which came out at Hamburg, in 1641, that Musæus found himself compelled to publish, in 1642, *Vindiciae disquisitionis de stilo Novi Testamenti*. Even this did not impose silence on Grosse, who sent into the world a fourth defence of his *Trias*, which was published at Hamburg in 1642.

At this time also the controversy was first agitated in Holland. Here the celebrated Daniel Heinsius had already, on several occasions, (as in his *Aristarchus sacer*, and in the preface to his *Exercitationes sacræ in Novum Testamentum*,) opposed the sentiments of Pfochen respecting the purity of the Greek in the New Testament; but now he did so at large and intentionally, in an express *Exercitatio de lingua Hellenistica*, which, in 1643, he published at Leyden. On the other hand, the no less celebrated Salmasius published, in reply to him, not less than three controversial works that same year, the contents and character of which are easily recognised from their titles. That of the first is: *Salmasii Hellenistica—sive commentarius controversiam de lingua Hellenistica decidens*; of the second: *Funus linguæ Hellenisticae, sive Confutatio exercitationis de lingua Hellenistica*; and of the third: *Ossilegium linguæ Hellenisticae, sive Appendix ad confutationem, &c.*

In a short time many scholars of other countries took part in the controversy. Thomas Gataker of England, in a *Dissertatio de stilo Novi Instrumenti*,

Lond. 1648, defended with much warmth the party and opinion of the Hellenists. In Switzerland, this was done principally by Samuel Werenfels, in a treatise *de stilo scriptorum Novi Testamenti*, and among our own divines, by John Olearius, in a work *de stilo Novi Testamenti*, and by Henry Boeckler in a treatise: *de lingua Novi Testamenti originali*. But even in Holland, after the first combatants had left the arena, the controversy was carried on by John Vorstius, as its principal conductor, in his *Philologia sacra—de Hebraismis Novi Testamenti*, Leyden, 1658, to which, in 1665, he published a second part, under the title: *Commentarius de Hebraismis Novi Testamenti*,<sup>a</sup> after Horace Vitringa had attacked the first, in a publication entitled: *Specimen annotationum ad philologiam sacram Vorstii*.

In order to give posterity a correct view of the proceedings of this memorable controversy, two learned men, in the beginning of the present century, made with great care a collection of the most important works already cited, and of others also which had appeared on the subject: namely, Jacob Rheinferd, in his *Syntagma dissertationum philologico theologicarum de stilo Novi Testamenti*, Lœwarden, 1703, and Van der Honert, in another work, which, under the same title, he published in the same year at Amsterdam. Some other learned men, as John Henry Michaelis, and Blackwall of England, the latter in his *Sacred Classics defended and illustrated*, Lond. 1727, and the

<sup>a</sup> The best edition of this work, is that of Fischer, published at Leipzig, in 8vo. 1778.—*Tr.*

former in a treatise *de Textu Novi Testamenti Græco*, Halæ, 1707, endeavoured to produce an accommodation, by proposing to the contending parties, that the one should acknowledge the Hebraisms by which the Greek of the New Testament was designated, and the other, notwithstanding its Hebraisms, should allow the style of it to be considered as pure. And in this way they would gradually have approached each other, had not Christian Sigismund Georgi at Wittemberg given new life to the controversy.

This zealot for the purity of the style of scripture published, in 1732, *Vindiciæ Novi Testamenti ab Eb-raismis* in three books, against which some Leipzig scholars, as Drs. Knapp and Dressing, maintained the opinion of the Hellenists. Immediately, in 1733, a new work of Georgi made its appearance under the title : *Hierocriticus sacer*—*sive de stilo Novi Testamenti*. This also was in three books, and in the end of the year a second part, comprehending as many more, came out. They were answered again by the Leipzig critics. After this no one took up the controversy. The Hellenists maintained the superiority ; and as the further cultivation which the philology of the New Testament received, proceeded in general upon the supposition which they had contended for, their opinion made far greater progress in a short time than it had previously made for ages.

Attention was now paid to the chief source from which the language of the New Testament could receive the greatest degree of illustration, the Septuagint version. As early as the year 1715, John Henry

Michaelis had published a treatise *de usu Septuaginta interpretum in Novo Testamento*, containing, for its age, a number of most valuable hints. Soon afterwards, many of the learned began to make this version more serviceable, by publishing critical and improved editions of it. In 1707—1720, John Ernest Grabe printed at Oxford an edition corrected according to the most ancient manuscripts, and this was again published at Zurich in 1730—1732, in four volumes, 4to. by John Jacob Breitinger. This is justly preferred to all others ; only, with the translation which it contains of the prophet Daniel, which is not the version of the Septuagint, but of Theodotion, it is necessary to compare that which was first made public at Rome in 1772, folio, under the title, *Daniel, secundum Septuaginta*, and in 1773, was reprinted at Goettingen, according to the Roman edition.

From this period even to our own times, many learned men applied themselves, with the more earnestness, to facilitate the use of this translation, and to make it more general and extensive, by means of historical, literary, and philological explanations ; although in fact this had been done, not without success, by some older writers of the preceding century. Among the earlier, and among the more modern works of this kind, the following may perhaps be pointed out as of most utility.

Jac. Usserii *Syntagma de Graeca Septuaginta interpretum versione.* Lips. 1695.

Isaac. Vossii *Dissertationes de LXX interpretibus, eorumque translatione et chronologia.* Hag. Com. 1661.

Ant. Van Dale, *Commentatio super Aristeam de LXX interpretibus.* Amstelod. 1705.

Jo. Ernest Grabe, *Dissertatio de vitiis versioni LXX ante Originis ævum illatis.* Oxon. 1710.

J. M. Hassencamp, *Dissertatio de Pentateucho LXX interpretum Græco non ex Ebraeo sed ex Samaritano textu converso.* Marpurg. 1765.

John David Michaelis, *Program of his course of college lectures on the Seventy interpreters.* Goetting. 1767.

Claud. Hornemann, *Specimen exercitationum criticarum in versionem LXX ex Philone.* Hafniæ, 1776.

But the actual application of this version in the philology of the New Testament was principally facilitated by means of two works, about half a century removed from each other, both of which are very excellent of their kind, and for the learned interpreter altogether indispensable. The older of the two is: *Abraham Trommii Concordantiae Græcæ versionis LXX interpretum*, Amstel. 1718, folio; and the more modern: *Jo. Christ. Biel Novus thesaurus philologicus, sive lexicon in LXX et alios interpretes et scriptores apocryphos Veteris Testamenti.* Ex auctoris manuscripto edidit et præfatus est E. H. Mutzenbecher, vol. iii. Hag. Com. 1779—1781, 8vo. To this last work Dr. J. F. Schleusner has made very valuable additions, in two collections which he has published with the title: *Spicilegia lexici in Septuaginta post Bielum.* Lips. 1784, 1786.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The same author afterwards published a larger work in five volumes, 8vo, far superior to any of the kind that preceded

In addition to these principal sources of assistance in acquiring an easier and more correct acquaintance with the language of the New Testament, there are also other works which contain collections of what is useful for this purpose, derived from the sources already mentioned, on the one side from pure Greek, and on the other from oriental.

As the characteristic of this language consists in its intermixture with Hebraisms, Chaldaisms, and such modes of speech as the Jews had long been in the habit of using to express certain religious ideas, very much depends of course upon acquiring a knowledge of these, for which purpose the most ample collections are to be found in the following works :

Johan. Lightfoot, *Horæ Hebraicæ et Chaldaicæ in quatuor Evangelistas, Acta Apostol.*—separat. ed. a Bened. Carpzov. Lips. 1684.<sup>a</sup>

Christ. Schoettgenii *Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ in universum Novum Testamentum.* Vol. ii. Dresd. 1733, 1744, 4to.

Gerh. Meuschenii *Novum Testamentum ex Talmude et Antiquitatibus Hebraicis illustratum.* Lips. 1736.

John Gill's *Exposition of the New Testament, with Notes taken from the most ancient Jewish writings.* Lond. 1746—1748. Vol. iii. folio.

ed it: *Novus Thesaurus Philologico-criticus in Septuaginta et reliquos Interpretes Græcos ac Scriptores Apocryphos Veteris Testamenti.* Lipsiæ, 1820-1.—*Tr.*

<sup>a</sup> All the works of Lightfoot, comprehending of course his *Horæ*, were published in English in two large folio volumes, in London in 1684. A new edition, in several volumes 8vo, has recently appeared.—*Tr.*

Johan. Bened. Carpzovii *Exercitationes sacræ in epistolam Pauli ad Hebræos ex Philone Alexandrino* Helmstad. 1750.

Johan. Tob. Krebs, *Observationes in Novum Testamentum ex Flavio Josepho.* Lips. 1755.

Those illustrations which are drawn from pure Greek writers to illustrate the dialect of the New Testament, are brought together principally in the following works.

Georg. Raphelii *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum ex Xenophonte collectæ.* Hamb. 1720, ed. secund.—By the same author: *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum ex Polybio et Arriano collectæ,* ib. 1715;—and *Annotationes philologicæ in Novum Testamentum ex Herodoto collectæ.* Luenenburg, 1731.

Johan. Henr. Von Seelen, *Specimen Observationum ad loca Novi Testamenti—ex Plutarchi libro de institutione puerorum.* Lubec. 1719.

Lamb. Bos, *Diatribæ, sive exercitationes philologicæ, in quibus Novi Testamenti loca quædam ex profanis auctoribus illustrantur.* Franecker, 1700.

Ge. Guil. Kirchmeyer, *Dissertatio de parallelismo Polybii et Novi Testamenti ratione dictionis.* Witteberg. 1725.

Johan. Alberti, *Observationes philologicæ in Novum Testamentum.* Lugd. Batav. 1725.

Jac. Elsneri, *Observationes sacræ in Novi Testamenti libros, quibus plurima illorum loca ex auctoribus Græcis et antiquitate exponuntur et illustrantur.* Trajecti, 1728.

Car. Henr. Langii *Observationes philologicæ in*

Novum Testamentum ex Luciano potissimum et Dionysio Halicarn. Lubec. 1732;—also by the same author: *Observationes in Novum Testamentum ex Euripide.* Ib. 1734.

Ge. Dav. Kypke, *Observationes sacræ in libros Novi Testamenti, ex auctoribus potissimum Græcis et antiquitate.* Wratisl. 1752.

Elias Palairé, *Observationes philologico-criticæ in sacros Novi Testamenti libros, quorum plurima loca ex auctoribus Græcis illustrantur, vindicantur et exponuntur.* Lugd. Batav. 1752.

Casp. Frid. Munthe, *Observationes philologicæ in sacros Novi Testamenti libros ex Diodoro Siculo collectæ.* Havnæ, 1755.

Frid. Lud. Abresch, *Dilucidationes Thucydideæ, in quibus passim Novi Testamenti loca illustrantur.* Trajecti, 1755.<sup>a</sup>

But all illustrations of the language of the New Testament, collected together from all the sources, may be found in the greatest completeness in the most recent work of this kind: J. F. Schleusneri *Lexicon Græco-Latinum in Novum Testamentum.* Tom. ii. Lips. 1792, 8vo.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> In addition to the sources referred to by the author, the common and Macedonian dialect, as found in many of the later Greek writers, may be mentioned. See the treatise of Planck referred to in pages 21 and 32, notes. Also Fischer's *Prolusiones de vitiis Lexicorum Novi Testamenti*, and F. W. Sturz de dialecto Macedonica et Alexandrina. 8vo. Lips. 1808.

<sup>b</sup> Another Lexicon made its appearance in 1822, at Leipzig, with the following title: *Clavis Novi Testamenti Philologica, usibus Scholarum et juvenum Theologiæ studiosorum*

## CHAPTER IX.

THE helps to facilitate an acquaintance with the original language of the Old Testament, may very properly be comprised in three classes.

First, sources from which the original knowledge of the language of the Hebrew Bible must be drawn, including also such works as contain directions for the use of those sources.

Secondly, writings wherein the knowledge drawn from those sources is collected together and arranged,

accommodata, auctore M. Christ. Abrahamo Wahl. This is a more accurate work than Schleusner's, especially in the account of prepositions and particles. The author seems to have paid more attention to the results which the latest efforts in Greek literature have produced, and to be well versed in the pure classic, the common, and the Hebraistic Greek, all of which he has brought to bear upon the New Testament. This lexicon has been translated into English by "Edward Robinson, A. M. (now D. D. lately) Assistant Instructor in the department of Sacred Literature, Theol. Sem. Andover." It is in one volume royal 8vo. and is considerably improved. The theological student will find this to be the most convenient Lexicon to the New Testament, and also the cheapest he can procure. The translator announces his intention of preparing and publishing a new edition of his work; revised and improved by the use of the lexicons of Bretschneider, Passow and others, of the late ablest commentators and grammarians, and by the results of his own investigations. He hopes to be able to complete the work in the course of the present year.—*Tr.*

as Grammars, Lexicons, Concordances, and Collections of idioms of the language.

Thirdly, we may add, those particular works, which illustrate by philological observations the language of separate books or single passages of the Old Testament.

1. With respect to the first class of these works, it has already been shown, that the versions which we possess of the Old Testament, in the Greek and oriental languages, are the principal sources, and almost the only sources, for understanding the Hebrew, which, as a living language, exists only in these writings. It is necessary, therefore, in the first place, to take some literary notice of these versions.

Here again the preference must be given to the Greek, from which undoubtedly the greatest degree of light may be obtained, as is completely proved by John Frederick Fischer, in a treatise *de versionibus Græcis librorum Veteris Testamenti literarum Hebraicarum magistros.* Lips. 1772. The superiority of the Greek versions in this respect arises from their number: for in addition to the Septuagint, there existed in the time of Origen, three by authors well known, those, namely, of Theodotion, Aquila, and Symmachus; and also, three others by unknown translators. There were consequently not less than seven collated by him in his *Tetrapla* and *Hexapla*. It is true that none of these versions, if we except the Septuagint, is preserved complete; indeed even the *Hexapla* of Origen has come down to us in a most lamentably imperfect state: still some fragments of it remain, which can always be used, and which have

been used, with much advantage. These were collected as early as the last century by John Drusius, in his *Fragmenta veterum interpretum Græcorum in totum vetus Testamentum*. Arnhem. 1622. But the most meritorious service in this department has been performed by Bernard Montfaucon, who prepared with great care, and, in 1714, published at Paris a new edition of the Hexapla of Origen, in two folios, which, abridged in certain places, and provided with some additional matter, was afterwards, in the years 1768–9, printed at Leipzig, in two octavo volumes, by Dr. C. F. Bahrdt.<sup>a</sup>

The character of some of these versions, of which fragments still remain, has first been in our own time a subject for critical disquisitions, by means of which their utility is not only more accurately and correctly estimated, but their application also greatly facilitated.

The latter is done in the work of John Fred. Fischer, entitled: *Clavis reliquarum versionum Græcarum veteris Testamenti*. Lips. 1758, and in John Aug. Scharfenberg's *Animadversiones, quibus frag-*

<sup>a</sup> For an account of the Greek versions above mentioned, see Jahn's *Introduction*, pp. 51—63, and the authors there referred to; also Masch's *Le Long*. Bahrdt's work is said by Jahn to abound with errors. He adds: "In the last century, several learned men, particularly Semler, Scharfenberg, Döderlein, Matthæi, Bruns, Adler, Schleusner, Loesner, and Fischer, corrected many parts of the preceding collections, and increased them by large additions. It is much to be wished that all were published in a single collection.—*Tr.*

menta versionum Græcarum Veteris Testamenti illustrantur. Specim. I. Lips. 1776.

On the former the following writings, although in part somewhat small, contain many very valuable and very necessary observations.

Joh. Sal. Semleri epistola ad Joh. Jac. Griesbachium de emendandis Græcis Veteris Testamenti interpretibus. Halæ. 1770.

Joh. Aug. Dathe, Dissertatio in Aquilæ reliquias interpretationis Hoseæ. Lips. 1757.

Car. Aug. Theime—pro puritate Symmachi. Lips. 1755.

John Matt. Hassencamp's true origin of the versions of the Bible disclosed, Minden, 1755, compared with Olav Gerh. Tychsen's Tentamen de variis Codd. Hebræorum Vet. Test. MSS. generibus a Judæis et non-Judæis descriptis. Rostoch. 1772. But, in opposition to this work, several publications appeared, which were answered by Tychsen in his Tentamen vindicated, and in his appendix to this work, both published at Rostock, the former in 1774, and the latter in 1776.<sup>a</sup>

Among the other versions of the Old Testament, the principal are the Chaldee or the Targums, the Samaritan, the Syriac and Arabic. The fragments of the Ethiopic which are extant, are not of so much utility, and the more modern Armenian of still less.

<sup>a</sup> To the works above mentioned in the text, may be added the following:—An Inquiry into the present state of the Septuagint Version of the Old Testament. By the Rev. Dr. Henry Owen, Rector of St. Olave, Hart Street, and Fellow of the Royal Society, 8vo. London, 1769.—Tr.

Of the Targums or Chaldee paraphrases there are several on particular books, for instance, one on the Pentateuch, by Onkelos, another by the pseudo Jonathan, and one called the Jerusalem. There is also a Targum of Jonathan Ben Uzziel, on what are called the former and later prophets, and another on the Hagiographa, and the five Megilloth.

The Samaritan version is limited, as is well known, to the Pentateuch. It is usually printed entire in what are called Polyglots, of which there are four that particularly deserve the name. The first rank among them as to age is claimed by the Complutensian Polyglot, which was printed at Alcala, or Complutum, in 1514—1517, in six folios, under the auspices of Cardinal Ximenes. The second is the Antwerp, which appeared in 1569—1571, in eight folios, and is often referred to under the title, *Biblia regia Philippi II.* The Paris Polyglot is the third, in ten folios, printed in 1645, at the expense of Michel Le Jay; and the fourth, which, as it respects real value, merits the first place, is the London, edited by Brian Walton in six volumes, folio, in 1657. The most complete accounts of these Polyglots, may be found in Le Long's *Discours historique sur les principaux éditions de Polyglottes.* Paris, 1713.<sup>a</sup>

Some of the above mentioned versions have also been printed separately, as, for example, the Arabic of the whole Bible at Rome, in 1671, in three folios, altered by the editors, according to the Vulgate. Also some fragments which we have of an Ethiopic version, the Psalter namely, and the book of Ruth, were pub-

<sup>a</sup> App. Note III.

lished at Frankfort, in 1700, by Job Ludolf and Nissel. Still, it may easily be supposed, that very laborious investigations, partly historical, and partly philological and critical, were necessary, before these versions could be made useful in illustrating the Hebrew text. We must, therefore, by all means, make ourselves acquainted with the results of those investigations.

These are to be found most fully in Richard Simon's *Histoire critique des versions*; in the *Apparatus Biblicus* of Brian Walton, Zurich, 1670, or, as it is entitled in the latest edition published by Dathe at Leipzig, 1777, the *Prolegomena in Biblia Polyglotta*; in Kennicott's two dissertations on the state of the printed Hebrew Text, Oxford, 1753, 1759; in Houbigant's *Prolegomena* to his Hebrew Bible, the whole work published at Paris in four volumes, folio, 1773, and the *Prolegomena* alone at Frankfort in 1777; and in De Rossi's *Apparatus Hebræo-Biblicus*, Parma, 1782.

On the Samaritan Pentateuch in particular, which gave rise to the most laborious, and also the most contested discussions, the greatest mass of information may be found in Morini *Exercitationes in utrumque Samaritanum Pentateuchum*, Paris, 1631, in opposition to which Henry Hottinger published his *Exercitationes antimorinianæ de Samaritano Pentateucho*, Tigur. 1644, whereupon Morin gave to the world his *Opuscula Hebræo-Samaritana*, Paris, 1657. Later discussions on the controverted questions connected with these works, are contained principally in Frid. Iman. Schwartz *Exercitationes historico-criticæ in utrumque Samaritanum Pentateuchum*, Witteb. 1756,

and in *Nouveaux éclaircissements sur l'origine et le Pentateuque des Samaritans*, par un religieux de la congrégation de S. Maur, (P. Poncelet,) Paris, 1760, and also in the controversial works before mentioned of Tychsen and Hassencamp.

Lastly, respecting the way and manner of deriving from these sources an acquaintance with the language of the Hebrew Bible, and also respecting the use and application of the means which are most serviceable for this purpose, the best directions may be found in Albert Schultens' *Origines Hebrææ*, edit. sec. Lugd. 1761, and in John David Michaelis' *Beurtheilung der Mittel, welche man anwenden kann, die ausgestorbene Hebraische Sprache zu erlernen und zu verstehen*, view of the means to be used, in order to acquire a knowledge of the dead Hebrew language, Göttingen, 1757.

II. Of the second class of literary helps for acquiring a knowledge of the language of the Hebrew Bible, among which may be placed lexicons and concordances, works on grammar, and such as contain and illustrate the idioms of the language, only the principal and most distinguished need be mentioned. These are as follows:—

Castelli Lexicon Hebraicum cum annot. J. D. Michaelis. Götting. 1790, 4to.

J. D. Michaelis Supplementum ad Lexica Hebraica. P. i—vi. Götting. 1792.

Joh. Simonis Lexicon manuale Hebraicum et Chaldaicum. Halæ, 1756. Also the author's Observations Lexic. in Supplementum Lexici manualis, Halæ, 1762, edit. tert. auct. Joh. Godfr. Eichhorn, 1793.

Joh. Cocceii Lexicon Hebraic. et Chaldaic. auct. ed. a J. C. F. Schultz. T. ii. Lips. 1777.

Joh. Buxtorfii Concordantiae Bib. Heb. Basil. 1632.<sup>a</sup>

Among the Hebrew and Chaldee grammars that have been published, the following comprise those in most general use, and also such as are most useful.

Joh. Buxtorfii Thesaurus linguæ Hebraicæ Edit. quint. Basil. 1651.

Joh. Adr. Danzii Literator Hebræo-Chaldæus. Jenæ, 1745.

John Henry Michaelis' erleichterte Hebraeische Grammatik, Hebrew grammar made easy, Halle, 1745.

Schultens' Institutiones ad fundamenta linguæ Hebrææ. Ludg. Bat. 1745.

Institutiones ad fundamenta linguæ Hebrææ edit. Nic. Guil. Schröder. Gröning. 1766, and Francof. 1778.

J. D. Michaelis Hebræische Grammatik nebst einem Anhang von gründlicher Erkenntniss derselben. Hebrew grammar with an appendix on a fundamental acquaintance with it. Third edition, Halle, 1778.

William Fred. Hezel's ausfuehrliche Hebraeische Sprachlehre. Complete Hebrew grammar, Halle, 1777.

To these must be added, on account of the Chaldee, which is to be considered as one of the languages of the Bible, and not merely as a kindred dialect, intended to aid in acquiring the Hebrew :

<sup>a</sup> App. Note IV.

Jac. Altingii Synopsis institutionum Chaldaic. cum adnot. Joh. Simonis, Halæ, 1749.

Joh. Frid. Hirtii Bibliorum analyticorum pars Chaldaica, præmissa introductione ad Chaldaismum biblicum. Jenæ, 1757.

J. D. Michaelis Grammatica Chaldaica. Göttingen, 1771.

Some idioms and peculiarities of the biblical Hebrew, are collected and explained in the following works:—

Joh. Jac. Breitinger, brevis de idiotismis linguæ Hebraicæ commentarius. Tigur. 1737.

Christoph. Theodos. Walter, Ellipses Hebrææ. Dresd. et Lips. 1740; another edition with notes, by Joh. Frid. Chr. Schultz. Halle, 1782.

Joh. Michaelis, Lexicon particularum Hebraicarum. Francof. 1689.

Christ. Noldii Concordantia particularum Hebræo-Chaldaicarum. Jenæ, 1734.

Joh. Christ. Storr, Observationes ad analogiam et Sytaxin Hebræam pertinentes. Tubing. 1779.<sup>a</sup>

III. It now remains only to mention some writings of the third class, in which the language of particular books, or of particular places of the Old Testament, is in some measure illustrated by philological remarks.

We have some philological commentaries on the book of Job, and on the Proverbs of Solomon, by the great Albert Schultens.

By N. W. Schröder, we have a commentary of the

<sup>a</sup> App. Note V.

same kind on the tenth Psalm, published at Grönningen, in 1754, and in the *Sylloge dissertationum philologico-exegeticarum* of both these scholars, Leyden, 1772, as also in a later collection by Schnurrer, there are philological illustrations of several separate portions of the Hebrew text.

In this division, those works may be introduced in which the Hebrew names occurring in the Bible are philologically explained, as :

Matt. Hilleri *Onomasticon sacrum.* Tübinger, 1706.

Christ. Bened. Michaelis *Observationes philologicæ denominibus propriis Hebræorum.* Halæ, 1729.

Jo. Simonis *Onomasticon Vet. Test.* Halæ, 1741; also, the same author's *arcanum formarum nominum linguae Hebrææ*, Halæ, 1753.

But especially worthy of notice are those works in which the poetical language of the Old Testament, and the characteristics of the Hebrew poetry, are seized on and developed, although only two modern publications in this department can be introduced. These, however, make all the older works more than unnecessary. I refer to—Robert Lowth *de sacra poesi Hebræorum prælectiones academicæ*, Oxon. 1753, and afterwards published at Göttingen 1758, and 1761, with the notes of John David Michaelis ; <sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Bishop Lowth's work was translated into English by G. Gregory, F. A. S., and published with the principal notes of Michaelis and others, including those of the translator, at London, in two vols. 8vo. 1787, and again in 1816.—It was republished at Boston, in one vol., in 1815, and at Andover, in 1829, with notes by Calvin E. Stowe, A.M.

and J. G. Herder vom Geist der Hebraeischen Poesie, on the spirit of Hebrew poetry, Dessau, 1782.

## CHAPTER X.

AFTER what has been said, nothing more is necessary, than to give an account of the literary helps to biblical criticism; and these may be almost entirely limited to some great productions of modern times. In doing this, it will be proper to distinguish those works which belong to the criticism of the Old Testament, from those in which the criticism of the New, or the helps and sources of it, are the object of the authors' labours.

The controversy which arose in the last century, respecting the necessity of a critical treatment of the Old Testament, and the manner of conducting it, was noticed in a former chapter, because it originated in erroneous views of inspiration, and also of a pretended incorruptibility of the text, derived from those views, or connected with them. The principal works therefore of Capel, Buxtorf, Richard Simon, Carpzov and others, who were chiefly conspicuous in the controversy, were there mentioned. These writings of Capel and Simon, and particularly of the latter, contain not only the reasons which make a critical treat-

The work of Herder has been translated into English by President Marsh of Burlington College. It will shortly be published in two volumes, 12mo. The first volume is already printed.—*Tr.*

ment of the Hebrew text necessary, but also such an admirable development of the means which can and must be employed for that purpose, the manner in which they should be used, the caution to be applied, and the method to be pursued, that the principal work of this learned man, his critical history of the text of the Old and New Testaments, will always retain its rank among the works most important for the study of criticism.

In addition to these publications, there are others which deserve notice, such as, Louis De Dieu, *Critica sacra*. Amstel. 1693; Humfrey Hody, *de Bibliorum textibus originalibus*, Oxon. 1705. There are also certain learned works still older, which on the various readings of what are called the Keri and Cethib, and on the old Jewish criticism of the text or Masora, contain some strange explanations, and sanction very uncritical opinions. To this class belongs :

Matt. Hilleri *Arcanum Keri et Cethib*, Tubing. 1692, in which he maintains the opinion, that the Keri and Cethib are to be ascribed to Ezra, and he thus designated on the margin of his copy the various readings which he discovered in some manuscripts.

Also, Joh. Reinhardi *Commentar. de notis marginalibus sacri codicis Masorethicis*, Witteb. 1674; Aug. Pfeiffer *de Masorah*, ejus nomine, materia, forma, auctoribus, auctoritate et usu, Witteb. 1670; and Joh. Frid. Cotta, *Exercitatio historico-critica de origine Masoræ*, Tub. 1726.

On the method by which many additional various readings of the Hebrew Bible may be collected, very useful hints were given by Jablonsky, in the preface

to his Hebrew Bible, printed at Berlin, 1699. But Le Long pointed out a far greater number of sources for this purpose in his *Bibliotheca sacra*, the best edition of which, printed at Paris in 1723, in two folios, was republished, enriched with very large additions, by Andrew Gottlieb Masch, at Halle in 1778—1785, in five volumes, quarto.<sup>a</sup> Yet on these sources and the

<sup>a</sup> This edition of Le Long, contains more satisfactory information on the various topics connected with the criticism of the Old Testament, than any single work to which the student can resort. It is in two parts, the first treating of the editions of the original text, and the second of the versions of the sacred books. Part First, is comprised in one volume, quarto. It contains a Preface, a biographical sketch of Le Long, a preliminary dissertation on the varieties in Hebrew manuscripts, tables exhibiting different readings in various editions of the Bible, and a particular account of editions. The last subject occupies nearly three-fourths of the volume, and is divided into four chapters. The first gives an account of Hebrew Bibles entire, whether with points or without ; of portions of the Bible, beginning with the Pentateuch, first the Hebrew, either whole or in part, and then the Samaritan : of the five small books, either in whole or in part ; of the prophets, all together, or as divided into former and later ; of the Hagiographa, united or separate. All this most methodically and judiciously arranged, is comprehended within the first section. In the second, he gives a similar account of Hebrew Bibles, and parts of Bibles, with Rabbinical Commentaries and Paraphrases ; and in the third, when accompanied by versions. Chapter second relates to editions of the Greek Testament, and is distinguished by the same order and minuteness. The third chapter gives an account of Polyglots, and the fourth of the editions of the Apocryphal books.—Part Second, treats of the versions of the sacred books. It is divided into three volumes ; the first giving an account

use of them generally, very much may be learned from the above mentioned Apparatus Biblicus or Prolegomena of Brian Walton, and still more in the two dissertations of Kennicott on the state of the Hebrew text, a translation of which from the English into Latin, was published at Leipzig, in 1756, and 1765, by Teller, counsellor of the superior consistory.

The following later works also, although in part but small, contain very valuable additional matter for this purpose, and for Hebrew criticism in general. Erh. Andr. Frommann, *Quæstio philologica*, an variæ lectiones ad Codicem V. T. ex Mishna colligi possint. Coburg. 1761.—Joh. Aug. Dathe, *Prolusio de difficultate rei criticæ*, in V. T. caute dijudicanda. Lips. 1762.—Gottfr. Less, *de cura quam præsens textus Hebræi conditio requirit*. Halæ, 1763.—And in addition to these the above mentioned *Tentamen* of Tychsen, together with the publications which appeared in reply to it by Dathe, Bruns, Michaelis and Hassencamp; and lastly, J. G. C. Adler, *Judæorum codicis sacri rite scribendi leges ad recte æstimandos codices manuscriptos antiquos perutiles*. Hamb. 1779.

Besides the works already noticed, it merely remains to mention those, in which the Hebrew text of the Old Testament is in fact critically treated according to those directions and by means of these helps, of the Oriental versions, the second of the Greek, and the third of the Latin. An appendix is added, containing some corrections and additions. To each volume, a chronological index is subjoined.—*Tr.*

or at least the various readings, the value of which must be determined by criticism, are collected and properly arranged. Of such works we have only four, or only three which extend over the whole of the Old Testament. They are as follows:

Joh. Bened. Michaelis *Biblia Hebraica*. Halæ, 1720, tom. ii. 4to.<sup>a</sup>

*Biblia Hebraica cum notis criticis*—Car. Franc. Houbigant. Paris. 1753, tom. iv. fol.

*Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum cum variis lectionibus* ed. Benjam. Kennicott. Oxon. tom. i. 1776. tom. ii. 1780, fol.

De Rossi, *Apparatus Hebræo-biblicus*, Parmæ,

<sup>a</sup> This Bible of Michaelis is particularly valuable, not only for its general accuracy, but principally for the extensive and useful annotations with which the learned and pious editor has enriched the text, and especially the Psalms and Prophets. Rosenmüller is greatly indebted to him, particularly in his notes on the minor prophets. To the Bibles mentioned by the author may be added the celebrated edition of Everard Van der Hooght, Amsterdam, 1705, remarkable for the beauty of its typography. This edition has become very scarce.—Also, Jahn's Hebrew Bible, published at Vienna in 1806 in four vols. 8vo., with the following title: “*Biblia Hebraica digessit et graviores lectionum varietates adjecit, Johannes Jahn, Phil. et Theol. Doct. &c.*” For an account of this edition see Horne, vol. ii. part ii. appendix, p. 8, and Jahn's Introduction, p. 135.—A very neat, and it is said correct edition, was published in 1832 at Leipzig, by Dr. Augustus Hahn. The editor has followed Van der Hooght principally. At the end of the book he has given a table of the sections into which the Prophets are divided, and a Clavis explanatory of Rabbinical notes. It is the cheapest edition that can be procured.—*Tr.*

1782; also, by the same author: *Variæ lectiones V.* T. Parmæ, 1784, vol. ii. fol.

There are again some works, which in part contain, among other matter, separate portions of the Hebrew Text, in part critically collated from particular manuscripts, which may be considered as a sort of supplement to the collection of Kennicott. Of these the following are the principal.

*Kritisches Collegium über die drey wichtigste Psalmen von Christo, den 16, 40, und 110:* A course of collegiate lectures on the three most important Psalms relating to the Messiah, the 16th, the 40th, and the 110th, by J. D. Michaelis. Frank. 1756.

*Theod. Christ. Lilienthal, Commentatio Critica, sistens duorum manuscriptorum, Biblia Hebraica continentium notitiam, cum Sylloge variarum lectio- num ex utroque excerptarum.* Regiomont. 1770.

But for the further, and in general, for the complete survey of what has been done until the present time for the criticism of the Hebrew text, reference may here be made with great propriety to William Frederick Hezel's *Versuch einer Geschichte der biblischen Kritik des A. T.:* Essay towards a history of the Biblical criticism of the Old Testament; which made its appearance at Halle in 1780, 8vo.

The criticism of the New Testament was an object of attention earlier than that of the Old. This was no doubt in a great measure owing to the fact, that the facilities to be relied on for investigating this department were much more numerous, and much more accessible, than those relating to the other. Every library of some respectability could enumerate many

Greek manuscripts. They must therefore have fallen into the hands of the learned almost without being sought, they must have invited scholars to compare many of them with each other, and from the result of these comparisons criticism must necessarily have advanced to a greater degree of perfection. These comparisons disclosed, as soon as they were instituted, many differences or various readings. As early as the sixteenth century, Erasmus and the two Stephenses drew the conclusion, that the most important consequences must result from collecting these various readings, and they immediately began the work, which afterwards in the following age and in our own might be carried further, and which in fact has thus been carried. Along with this they began to philosophize on the principles by which, amidst such a multiplicity of various readings, the genuine might be ascertained and the original restored. Their principles also were constantly improving, as additional caution, in the application or use of them, was found to be necessary, and a more correct standard established whereby to estimate the results which they afforded.

Beside some important works of the preceding century already mentioned, in which these principles and the helps for the criticism of the New Testament are laboriously investigated, among which those of Simon are again distinguished as the most important, the following, partly of that century and partly of our own, are deserving of particular notice.

Jo. Sauberti variæ lectiones textus Græci Evang. Matthiæ—cum epicrisi de origine, usu, auctoritate variarum N. T. lectionum in genere. Helmstad. 1672.

Ad. Rechenberg *Comment. de variis N. T. lectio-*  
 nibus. Lips. 1690.

Christoph. Matth. Pfaff *Commentatio Critica de*  
 genuinis librorum N. T. *lectionibus ope canonum*  
 quorundam criticorum feliciter indagandis, et a spu-  
 riis separandis. Amstelod. 1709.

John Mill's *Prolegomena to his New Testament*,  
 afterwards to be noticed, and Daniel Whitby's *Exa-*  
*men variarum lectionum Jo. Millii in N. T.* Lond.  
 1710.

Joh. Guil. Baier, *Dissertatio de variantium lectio-*  
*num usu et abusu.* Altorf. 1712.

Joh. Lud. Frey *de variis lectionibus N. T.* Basil.  
 1713.

Joh. Bened. Michaelis *de variis lectionibus N. T.*  
 caute colligendis et dijudicandis. Halæ, 1749.

Joh. Christ. Klemmii *Principia sacræ criticæ N.*  
*T.* Tubing. 1746.

Anthony Blackwall's sacred classics defended and  
 illustrated, (*Critica Sacra N. T. a Christ. Wollo*  
*Latine versa.* Lips. 1736.)

Wetstein's *Prolegomena to his New Testament.*<sup>a</sup>

Joh. Alb. Bengelii *Introductio in crisin N. T.*, in  
 the preface to his edition.

The same author's *Apparatus criticus—ed. secund.*  
 Tub. 1763.

<sup>a</sup> An edition of Wetstein's *Prolegomena* was published in 8vo, at Halle, in 1764, by Joh. Sal. Semler, who accompanied it with notes, and added an appendix on the older Latin re-censions in various manuscripts and specimens of Greek and Latin chirography.—*Tr.*—Since Semler's edition, Dr. J. A. Lotze has brought out an enlarged and amended edition, in one vol. 4to. Rotterdam, 1831.

Joh. Jac. Griesbachii curæ in historiam textus Graeci epistolarum Pauli. Jenæ, 1777.

Since, in the criticism of the New Testament, very much depends upon the ancient versions that we have of it, the most important of these must be here noticed, together with the labours which have been applied to them by various learned men, in order to make them still more useful.

Among all the versions, the principal place is undoubtedly to be assigned to the ancient Syriac, (for there are several of more modern origin,) which may probably be considered as the oldest extant. A critical edition of this version was prepared by John Albert Widmanstadt at Vienna in 1555, which was reprinted in the Antwerp Polyglot in 1575 with an appendix of various readings. It first appeared complete in the Paris Polyglot and then in the London, after the Apocalypse of St. John, and the second epistle of St. Peter and third of St. John with that of St. Jude, which had hitherto remained unknown, had been discovered and published, the first by Louis de Dieu in 1627,<sup>a</sup> and the others by Edward Pococke in 1630. The whole was afterwards published by Charles Schaaf in 1717 at Leyden in 4to, accompanied by a Syriac lexicon of the New Testament in an additional volume.<sup>b</sup>

The most extensive and complete accounts of these Syriac versions have been given by Gloucester Ridley,

<sup>a</sup> Apocalypsis ex MS. Scaligeri—Syriace, op. Ludov. de Dieu. 1627.

<sup>b</sup> As it is exceedingly desirable, that the student of the Bible should acquire some knowledge of Syriac, and as this

in his *dissertatio de Syriacarum versionum indole ac usu*, which is appended to Wetstein's *Libelli ad crisin Novi Testamenti*, which Semler in 1768 published separately; also in the preface to Dathe's *Syriac Psalter*, Halle, 1768, and in Gottlob Christian Storr's *Observationes super Novi Testamenti versionibus Syriacis*. *Stuttgartt. 1772.*<sup>a</sup> These versions have often been particularly applied to the criticism of the New Testament, and to the correction of particular places, as, for instance, in the *Curæ in versicnem Syriacum Actuum Apostolorum*, of J. D. Michaelis, published at Göttingen in 1775.

There are also several Arabic versions of the New Testament. At least the impressions in the London

may be done with a very moderate degree of labour after having made a tolerable acquaintance with Hebrew, it might be proper to mention a few books most useful in pursuing the study of this language. But the reader is referred to the appendix to a "Treatise on the use of the Syriac language, by John David Michaelis, translated from the German by John Frederick Schroeder, A. M., an assistant minister of Trinity Church, in the city of New York,"<sup>+</sup> and published in the first volume of *Essays and Dissertations in Biblical Literature*, 8vo, pp. 481—530; and also to the *Biblical Repository*, vol. iii. p. 21, note \*. These two works, both of which are quite accessible, will supply him with references to authors.—*Tr.*

<sup>a</sup> The following publications deserve to be particularly mentioned: *Versio Syriaca Philoxeniana Sacrorum Evangeliorum*, Joseph White, cum vers. Lat. *Oxon. vol. ii. 1778*, 4to.

*Novi Testamenti versiones Syriacæ, Simplex, Philoxeniana et Hierosolymitana, cum observatt. et tabb. æn. ab J. G. C. Adler. Hafniæ. 1789*, 4to.

<sup>+</sup> It is intended that this Treatise by Michaelis, shall be included in a future volume of the *Biblical Cabinet*.

and Paris Polyglots, the version of the four Gospels printed at Rome in 1619, and the edition of Thomas Erpenius published at Leyden in 1616, differ much from each other. See Gottl. Christ. Storr, *dissertatio de Evangeliiis Arabicis*. Tubing. 1777.

The Ethiopic version, which appeared at Rome in two parts in 1548—9, is in the London Polyglot, but very incorrectly printed.

The Persian versions are confined to the four Gospels, and are two in number, an older, with notes by Thomas Graevius, and a more modern by Abraham Wehloc, London, 1657.

An Armenian version was printed at Amsterdam in 1668 by Bishop Uscan, and the Coptic by David Wilkins in 1716.

But among all these last named versions, the Ethiopic is almost the only one which is in some measure useful for criticism. Most of the information relating to it is collected in the preface by Christ. Bened. Michaelis to the *Evangelium secundum Matthæum ex versione Ethiop. interpretis*—Christ. Aug. Bode. Halæ, 1749. The last named scholar published also the first four chapters of St. Matthew from the Armenian version, translated into Latin, Helmst. 1757, and introduced in the preface the necessary accounts of this version. Respecting the Coptic the greatest degree of information is to be found in the *Thesaurus epistolicus la Crozianus*, which was published at Leipzig in 1742.

Far more important, however, for the criticism of the Greek text than all these versions just mentioned, are the old Latin versions, or rather the fragments of

them, which are generally referred to by the names “antiqua Latina” and “Itala,” and which in part may be far more ancient than the time of Jerome’s version and of the Vulgate. Of these we have only some fragments, and on this account it becomes the more difficult, and must occupy the most careful attention of the greater number of scholars, to collect them together, to prepare them for publication, and to decide upon their merits.

The principal works in which this is done, and where these fragments are collected, are as follows:

*Vulgata Antiqua Latina et Itala versio Evangelii secundum Matthæum.* Ed. studio Johan. Martianay. Paris 1698.

*Acta Apostolorum Græco-Latine e codice Laudiano.* Ed. Thomas Hearnius. Oxon. 1715.

*Biblia Sacra Latinæ versionis, seu Vetus Itala, opera Pet. Sabatier.* Remis. 1743, iii. fol.

*Evangeliarium quadruplex Latinæ versionis antiquæ—in lucem edit. a Josepho Blanchinio,* Rom. 1749, ii. fol.

To these may be added the old Latin text of the Gospel of St. John from the Cambridge manuscript, which Semler printed at the end of his paraphrase of this Gospel, Halle, 1771.

Respecting these Latin versions, see, in addition to the above works, particularly the third dissertation of Natalis Alexander in his *Trias dissertationum ecclesiasticarum*, Paris 1678; also Blanchini’s *Vindiciae canonicarum scripturarum Vulgatae Latinæ*, Romæ. 1740, with the observations and treatises contained in his *Evangeliarium quadruplex*; and J. S. Semler’s

appendix to Wetstein's *Prolegomena*, published by him at Halle in 1764.

Lastly:—in our age the first effort of much importance has been made to employ the old Gothic version of Ulphilas to the criticism of the New Testament. As early as the year 1670, indeed, George Stiernhielm published at Stockholm, *Evangelia Gothice translata ab Ulphila*, with parallel northern versions and a *Glossarium Ulphilo-Gothicum*; but a far better edition appeared at Oxford under the following title: *Sacrorum Evangeliorum Versio Gothica cum interpretatione Latina et notis Erici Benzelli ed. Edw. Lye. 1750.* John Ihre, in his *Ulphilas illustratus*, threw much additional light on this version; but in the year 1763, superintendent Francis Ant. Knittel made public a *Versio Gothica Ulphilae non-nullorum capitum epistolae ad Romanos*, which he had found in a manuscript of the Wulfenbuttel library. Many writings relating to this Gothic version, by Ihre, Huppel, Esberg, Gordon, and Wachter, may be found in a collection of Ihre, with the title: *Scripta versionem Ulphilanam illustrantia*, edited by Büsching. Berl. 1773.

Respecting the last source from which criticism may derive assistance, namely, the works of the ancient ecclesiastical writers, it is not necessary to say much. It is but little of which it can avail itself from these works, and even this must first be sought for with great labour and brought together: although there are some collections from writings of the fathers, which appear to have been made, principally with the view of bringing together more closely what

they contain that is useful in criticism and interpretation.

The collections referred to are those in which the commentaries of many of the fathers on separate books of the Bible are arranged and placed together, and for these the particular name of *Catenæ Patrum* has been invented. Thus, for example, we have a *catena* of twenty-one Greek fathers on the Gospel of St. Matthew, published by Peter Possin, at Toulouse in 1646; and in the following year a second came out of thirty others. The same learned man published also a *catena* on the Gospel of St. Mark at Rome, in 1673; Balthazar Corderius, a *catena Patrum* on St. John, Antwerp, 1630; and John Hentenius with Morellus, another, on the Acts, the epistles of St. John, and the catholic epistles, Paris, 1631. The literary and historical notices of the *Catenæ* have been collected by Thomas Ittig in a separate work: *de bibliothecis et catenis patrum*, Lips. 1707; but on the use that can be made of them in the criticism and interpretation of the New Testament, and the advantages that may be expected to result, Dr. Noesselt has published a work entitled: *Observationes de catenis Patrum Græcorum in N. T.* Hallæ 1762.

All that now remains on this part of my subject is, to mention those works in which, from the sources stated, and by the means within reach, the Greek text has in fact been critically examined and prepared; in other words, to state those editions of the New Testament, in which the various readings are collected, estimated according to their value, and

judged according to the degree in which their genuineness is more or less probable.

Among the old editions, it is proper to mention, in the first place, the Greek text in the Complutensian Polyglot, which was taken from a very ancient Vatican manuscript,<sup>a</sup> and before printing compared with others, the various readings of which are noted in the margin. This text therefore continued in very great repute until our own time, when Semler in 1766 published at Halle his *Genauere Untersuchung der schlechten Beschaffenheit des zu Alcala gedruckten Neuen Testaments*; Critical Examination of the

<sup>a</sup> This opinion was generally supposed to be correct when the author prepared his work. It was founded "partly on several passages in the prefaces to the Complutensian Bible, in which the editors boast of having received from the apostolic library of Pope Leo X. very ancient and valuable manuscripts, which had afforded them great assistance; partly on some expressions of Erasmus, which are so construed as if the Pope had commanded the editors of this edition to follow one of the best Vatican manuscripts in particular." But it "is certain, that the Complutensian Bible very frequently differs from it, and therefore we cannot conclude from the readings of the one to those of the other." Thus far Michaelis, in his account of the Vatican manuscript. *Introduction, Part i. vol. ii. pp. 348—9.* Marsh, on the passage just quoted, (note 347,) gives a specimen of readings which he had collected from the Vatican manuscript and the Complutensian edition on the first three chapters of St. Matthew, from which it appears evident that the manuscript could not have been "ever consulted by the editors in this part of the Greek Testament"; and the same result is obtained by an examination of other portions. For an account of the Complutensian and other Polyglots, see Masch's *Le Long. Part i. p. 331, ss.* Horne's *Introduction, vol. ii. Part. ii. appendix, pp. 32. ss. edit. vii.—Tr.*

incorrect character of the New Testament printed at Alcala; in reply to which John Melch. Götze printed at Hamburgh in the same year, *Ausführliche Vertheidigung des Complutensischen Neuen Testaments mit beygefügten kritischen Anmerkungen gegen Semler*; The Complutensian New Testament defended at length against Semler, with accompanying critical remarks.<sup>a</sup>

After the Complutensian edition of the New Testament follow, in order of time, those of Erasmus. In preparing these also various manuscripts were critically collated; and, therefore, at least the three editions of 1516, 1519, and 1522, frequently differ from each other, because in each of them the editor endeavoured to improve the text, by numerous manuscripts which had not before been used.

These publications of Erasmus were succeeded by the critical editions of the elder Robert Stephens, which he published at Paris in 1546, 1549, and 1550.

Among the critical editions of Theodore Beza, that of 1582, printed by Henry Stephens, deserves to be particularly mentioned, because two manuscripts which have become of great importance, one known by the name of the Cambridge manuscript, and the other the Clermont, were used in its compilation.

In the seventeenth century, Stephen Curcellæus, and John Fell of England, meritoriously aided the cause of criticism, the former in his edition published

<sup>a</sup> A more complete account of this controversy may be found in Marsh's Michaelis, *ubi sup.* pp. 431—442, with the notes.—*Tr.*

at Amsterdam in 1658, and the latter in his which came from the Oxford press in 1657.

None of these editions, however, will bear a comparison with those great critical works which our own age has produced. Among these the first is that of John Mill: *Novum Testamentum Græcum cum variantibus lectionibus*. Oxon. 1707, fol. It was re-published in 1710, at Amsterdam, by Louis Küster, with a larger and better arranged collection of various readings.

Bengel followed Mill. His critical edition of the New Testament, with his *Apparatus Criticus*, first appeared at Tübingen, in 1734.

A greater treasure than even that of Bengel, was afterwards collected by John James Wetstein, whose *Novum Testamentum Græcum, cum variantibus lectionibus codicum manuscriptorum, editionum aliarum, versionum et patrum*, made its appearance at Amsterdam, in two folio volumes, in the years 1751, 1752.

In 1774, 1775, John James Griesbach published his *Novum Testamentum Græcum cum textu ad fidem codicum, versionum et patrum emendato*. Vol. i. ii. 8vo.<sup>a</sup>

Another service for the criticism of the New Testament has been accomplished still more recently by the same learned man, in his *Symbolæ criticæ ad supplendas et corrigendas variarum Novi Testamenti lectionum collectiones—cum descriptione et examine multorum codicum Græcorum Novi Testamenti*. Hal. T. i. 1785. T. ii. 1793, 8vo.

<sup>a</sup> App. Note VI.

In 1788, the new critical edition of the New Testament by Professor Matthæi in Wittenberg was completed in twelve volumes, in which many Moscow manuscripts, which had not previously been collated, are employed.

Earlier in the same year appeared at Copenhagen: *Birchii quatuor Evangelia Græca cum variantibus lectionibus codd. manuscript. Bibliothecæ Vaticanæ Barberinæ et cet.* 1784, 4to, and a year earlier: *Novum Testamentum ad codicem Vindobonensem Græce expressum.* Varietatem lectionum addidit Franc. Car. Alter. Prof. Gymnas. Vindob. vol. ii. Viennæ, 1787, in royal octavo.

Lastly, it is proper to mention the fac-similes lately published, of two manuscripts, which have always been considered as of the highest importance for criticism, namely, the Alexandrine and the Cambridge. The former, given to the world in 1789,<sup>a</sup> was the result of the application of Woide, and for the latter, published in 1793, at the cost of the university of Cambridge, we are indebted to the labours of Thomas Kipling. *Codex. Theod. Bezæ Cantabrigiensis, Evangelia et Acta Apostolorum complectens, quadratis literis Græco-Latinus—Academia aspirante venerandas has vetustatis reliquias summa fide adumbravit—expressit, edidit—codicis historiam—notasque adjecit Thomas Kipling, S. T. P. Cantabrig. 1793. Vol. ii. fol.* Thus they have been brought within the reach of the

<sup>a</sup> Horne says, 1786. *Introduction, Vol. ii. Part ii. Appendix, p. 19.*

learned, and can be more generally and more easily used.

## CHAPTER XI.

AFTER giving this account of the literary helps for the study of sacred philology and criticism, it is necessary to point out the most direct method, in which the study of each can most easily and successfully be pursued. Only with respect to this kind of literature, there is one circumstance, which must give to the discussions which it involves a particular direction, if they lead to an useful and applicable result.

The particular circumstance referred to is this. It is not only a doubtful point, whether an especial study of this branch of literature is necessary for every divine, but it may actually admit of doubt whether it is possible for every one. The inquiry deserves attention; for should these doubts in the end really prove to be well founded, it will certainly be more correspondent to the object in view, and more useful, here to direct our attention, rather to the means to be employed, in order, with the least disadvantage, to avoid these studies, and the conditions under which this indulgence is admissible, than to spend our time on the method of pursuing them with the most success. But it may be almost anticipated, that these doubts will appear entirely groundless, in proportion as they are the more closely and distinctly viewed.

The least that can be required for the proper study of these branches of literature, or at least that which

becomes the first requisite is undoubtedly this : that the knowledge necessary, and pertaining to it, must itself be drawn from those sources from which alone it can be drawn with certainty. Whoever, for example, determines to study the philology of the Hebrew language for himself, must himself discover by means of the helps that can be employed, its spirit, its character, its peculiarities, the significations of its words, the very characteristics of its figures ; thus he must draw out its character from the analogy of the other oriental languages which have sprung from it or are connected with it, and the meanings of its words and phrases from a comparison of the various versions which we have of the Hebrew scriptures, since these are the only sources which can supply such knowledge respecting them as may be confidently relied on.

It is indeed true, that this knowledge has frequently been collected and brought together from those scattered sources, in many works appropriated to such subjects, as in grammars and lexicons of the Hebrew language ; and therefore it might at first be thought, that it can now be derived entirely from these works. Such a course would undoubtedly save an immense expense of time and trouble : but then who does not perceive, that it is not a man's own study which is bestowed on these languages, but that he merely avails himself of the studies of others ?

In this case, it is not our own inquiries which we institute into the spirit of the language, and the significations of its words ; it is nothing more than the results of the inquiries of others, which we thereby assume as true, without having examined into their

truth for ourselves, or being able to conduct such an examination. From this last circumstance, principally, the study, when thus pursued, cannot properly be considered as an investigation of the subject for one's self, for this shows most clearly, that in this way we can only see with the eyes of others.

Thus, for example, we may find in every Hebrew lexicon, a great number of words given, which are derived from Arabic roots, or from primitive words preserved in the Arabic language, the significations of which are principally determined by it. They may, indeed, in the lexicons be taken from this source with perfect correctness: but if the student has no knowledge of Arabic, it is evident that he must depend upon the truth and fidelity of the compiler of the lexicon, or of the first scholar who discovered the Arabic roots, and assume it as true, that the signification of the Hebrew words is correctly given. Whatever reasons, or whatever presumptions we may have in favour of this, still we do not obtain views of our own, we are merely trusting to those of others; we must, therefore, always be without that substantial knowledge which our own study, and nothing else can give.

The case is the same with the particular philology of the Greek text. With regard to the criticism of both the Old and New Testaments, the remarks are still more applicable. Here also we find in particular works most of the materials, which the industry of individual scholars has collected with unwearied pains, on the various ways which criticism can pursue in making her discoveries. The different readings of

several hundreds of manuscripts, the full harvest of variations to be gathered from the old versions, and the writings of the fathers, are contained in the collections of Kennicott and De Rossi, relating to the Old Testament, and in the works of Wetstein, Bengel, and Griesbach on the New. The student therefore has nothing further to do but to form his own judgment on the value of the various readings, and to estimate the degree of their probable genuineness or spuriousness. But what must be the foundation of this judgment? and from what must this estimate proceed?

Is it not evident, that this must be historical information respecting the age, the character, and what is drawn from these points, the value of the manuscripts, from which the collection of various readings has been made? Is it not conjectures on the derivation of one from another, on the family-likeness of one with another, on the interpolation of one from another, on a hundred other circumstances relating to the country to which they owe their origin, to their transcribers, to the fate they have undergone, which must all be considered in forming this judgment? This information, and these conjectures,—on the correctness of which, the most, or, properly speaking, the whole depends,—we must believe on the word of the collector, who collated and described the manuscripts. Yet this cannot possibly be called a man's own study of this branch of knowledge; it is, or it results in nothing more than a historical acquaintance with what others have communicated respecting it: and that the acquaintance thus obtained, neither does nor can always satisfy every wish, became particular-

ly observable among our scholars on the appearance of Kennicott's edition of the Bible.

It is as evident then as anything can possibly be, that in this department of learning, sacred criticism, we must frequently yield to the pressure of necessity, and satisfy ourselves merely with this compendious historical study of the subject, because the real study of it for one's self, is, with thousands, absolutely impossible.

The helps which must necessarily be used in studying it in this manner, are of such a nature, that thousands can no more employ them than if they had no existence. The principal sources from which criticism must draw, the old manuscripts still remaining, are dispersed in all the libraries of Europe ; they can only be consulted in the places where they are kept ; and thus to make use of them, not only requires an expense of time and trouble, but also of money, which can be afforded by very few scholars. Nothing less than the public support of the English nation placed Kennicott in a condition to accomplish his undertaking. It is preposterous, therefore, to suppose, that sacred criticism could ever be a subject to be studied by all, or even by many in the manner above stated.

With the sacred philology of our Hebrew and Greek texts, the case is almost the same, although there are some other circumstances which have an influence on this subject. If in this department the helps are not so expensive and rare as in criticism—although they also are sufficiently so, especially in Hebrew philology—yet the greater part of students, who would pursue this branch of knowledge as a dis-

tinct part of exegetical theology, could not devote that time which would be required by such a course of study, as an examination of every point for one's self would demand.

For example:—a fundamental and learned knowledge of Hebrew necessarily comprehends an acquaintance with the other oriental languages, particularly with those which contain the most ancient and important versions of the Hebrew text. The greater proportion of these versions are only to be found in the Polyglots, which are costly. The other literary helps for acquiring these languages, those for instance, to be used in learning the Arabic, Samaritan, and Ethiopic, cannot be brought together without considerable expense, and even then, it is frequently difficult to secure them. But after this is done, how will a student, who, in a period of three or four years must traverse the whole field of theology, find time to devote to each of these languages in particular?

A merely general and superficial acquaintance with these languages is of little or no use; for the very fact that they are to be used in order to illustrate another, shows that a mere grammatical knowledge of their letters, their forms, and some of their words, cannot be very extensively applied. For this purpose, a philosophical study of the spirit of them is necessary; a study which requires not months only, but years.

Thus it becomes necessary for most persons to abandon all expectation of attaining this object. Happily, however, this necessity does not involve an irreparable loss; for it may in fact be shown, that to

study those branches of learning for one's self from original sources is, in general, to be considered as much unnecessary as it is impossible.

We have certainly every reasonable motive to place sufficient confidence in the results of the investigations which have been pursued on these subjects by scholars, who were able to devote their particular attention to this kind of learning. With respect to the probity with which they have given these results to the world, we have no reason to doubt; although in critical disclosures this is a point which must come into serious consideration, of which the deceit that was practised in relation to the famous codex Ravianus, by which so many critics were imposed upon, affords a very remarkable illustration.

But that their investigations are accurate, that the way in which they have proceeded is right, and that the discoveries which they have made therein are really true and worthy of credit, is proved from the fact, that although many persons have pursued these investigations, and in some cases by methods of their own, yet in general the same results have been produced.

When Schultens, for example, determines the meaning of a Hebrew word from the Arabic, or when Mill, in defending a reading, appeals to the fact, that it is sanctioned by the Alexandrine manuscript, the student who has no knowledge of Arabic may confidently regard the signification of the Hebrew word given by Schultens as the true one, and he who has never seen the Alexandrine manuscript may still be secure of having the reading contained in it; for Schultens was not the only man who found the signi-

fication referred to in the Arabic, and many besides Mill have examined the Alexandrine manuscript, and found there the same reading.

If, therefore, in literature of this kind, we are often obliged to believe merely what has been discovered by others, without being able ourselves to ascertain the correctness of the discovery, it is still exceedingly rare that we are obliged to trust a single witness: there are always many, who pledge themselves for the truth of the discovery, and consequently make it the more credible. Indeed we must rest satisfied with such evidence in a hundred other cases; and we do satisfy ourselves with it even in a multitude of cases where we are not necessarily obliged to do so. No reason therefore can be assigned, why we cannot and may not do the same, in relation to the knowledge under consideration.

In this view of the subject, it might be inferred, and not without very plausible reasons, that it is a very unnecessary expense of labour and time to study these subjects for ourselves, were it not that we have so many grounds for believing, that a further use of the original sources will supply a vast deal more than has hitherto been drawn from them. Yet even this suggests another circumstance, which makes it still more evident, that a personal examination of the original sources of this learning cannot be necessary in general or for all, and why this is the case.

It is a decided point, that the nicer and more intimate knowledge of the language of our Hebrew Scriptures is still susceptible of very great improvement, by a further cultivation of oriental literature in

general, enriching ourselves with its abundance : and it is also as certain, that the criticism both of the Old and New Testaments may yet anticipate many very valuable discoveries, by still further pursuing its investigations in the road which has been opened for it with so much trouble. There is therefore great reason to wish that many more scholars would devote themselves entirely or principally to this kind of literature, from which so much may be derived. Yet we may confidently believe, that the most important, the most useful, and the most necessary matter, which it contains, has already been brought to light.

So far indeed has our sacred philology been already cultivated, in respect to the languages of the Bible, that it can supply sufficient exegetical materials for a generally correct explanation of the true sense of the sacred Scriptures ; and criticism has also already thrown so much light upon it, that it may with sufficient certainty be considered as secured in all important and principal places against interpolations not yet discovered, and also may always come to a probable conclusion as to the genuine reading. It was this that was necessary to be done, since otherwise interpretation could not have taken one step with security. It is this, therefore, which every one who intends to make theology his study necessarily requires ; but he requires nothing more. Since now he can secure this merely by an industrious attention to the history of sacred philology and sacred criticism, the study of their original sources becomes superfluous to him, as soon as he is obliged to confine himself to what is necessary.

By prosecuting this study, very much light may undoubtedly be thrown on separate and particular places ; but it is not either intended or allowable, that every one who finds no difficulty in the general, should immediately attempt to illustrate such places. Persons, moreover, will always be found, who are able to do this, and who may do it with propriety. At the same time, however, every one who is obliged to examine the whole subject of theology within a limited period, and who would not confine his attention to this particular department ; in other words, every one who must run through his whole theological course in the usual space of three or four years, not only may without hesitation dispense with studying the subjects under consideration from their proper original sources, but he may do so without disadvantage. But, to guard against the possibility of being misunderstood, I would remark that this assertion is by no means equivalent to saying, that the student may continue utterly ignorant of this knowledge, and altogether disregard these subjects. It may even scarcely be necessary to give in detail a different plan of study that may, and in this case must be adopted ; and yet some remarks may be added on this point, chiefly in order to make it the more evident, that such a plan requires comparatively but little labour, and consequently to make it the more palpable, that an indisposition to undertake this little is utterly unpardonable.

## CHAPTER XII.

IN the first place, with regard to the philology of our Hebrew Scriptures: if our acquaintance with it is not to be drawn from the original sources themselves, scarcely anything further is really necessary but a lexicon and a grammar, in order in the shortest possible time to make such progress, as to be able to read and understand the text with facility.

The language has in comparison with others so few rules, and these again so few exceptions, that any memory can retain them without great effort. Although indeed this cannot be accomplished in so short a time as the old writer William Schickardt assigned to it, who offered to teach Hebrew in four and twenty hours, and therefore called his grammar, which he had divided into as many parts or *hours*, a *horologium*: yet in fact a vast deal more time is not required for this purpose. These rules are subsequently the more readily impressed upon the memory in the business of analyzing, which must immediately afterwards be undertaken; and by a moderate degree of practice for a space of time not much longer than that occupied in committing the rules, this becomes easy.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The view here given of the very great facility with which the Hebrew language may be acquired cannot be admitted. An enthusiastic admiration of any thing not unfrequently leads its advocates to represent its attainment as the easiest

The exercise of analyzing is generally supposed to be the most difficult, and therefore undertaken with the greatest reluctance; in fact it is often entirely neglected. But it is clearly impossible, ever to acquire a fundamental knowledge of a dead language, without much practice in analysis. It consists simply in examining the forms of all words occurring in the language, by the rules of formation given in the grammar, and of discovering the origin of each of these rules. It affords a two-fold advantage: for while in this way the rules become more familiar, and their application easier, their correctness is at the same time more evident, since every form of a word which can be analysed according to a rule, is in fact a confirmation of the rule.

matter imaginable. No language can be gained without time and labour; and all attempts to advance the study of a language, by making its acquisition the work of a few days or a few hours, must be injurious, because experience proves them to be unfounded. An accurate and fundamental acquaintance with Hebrew is a work of time and patient examination; but it brings with it an ample reward, in enabling the interpreter to judge for himself, without placing implicit reliance on the judgments of others. An ability to analyze a chapter by the aid of a Grammar and Lexicon, may indeed be acquired with moderate study in a few months; and at present, when the facilities for acquiring Hebrew are so abundant, no student of theology need be, and scarcely any ought to be, without this ability. The reader is referred to the Biblical Repository, vol. i. No. ii. pp. 491—530, for a defence of the claims of the Hebrew language and literature on the attention of scholars in general, and particularly of students of theology.—*Tr.*

After the student has thus analysed a small part of any one of our Hebrew books, the first four or five chapters only of Genesis, for example, carefully examining every word that they contain ; if he should read through the whole book, and perhaps a couple of books, or the Pentateuch, with the aid of a lexicon, drawing from this source the signification of every word with which he was unacquainted, and at the same time impressing it upon his memory ; he will have acquired almost all that is necessary, and all that can be obtained in this shorter method of study, for he will thus be almost in a situation to read all the other books of the Old Testament without a grammar or lexicon.<sup>a</sup>

He also who studies Hebrew from its original sources, does not, properly speaking, acquire more knowledge ; his knowledge is only of another kind. He can state the reasons for the rules of the language, from the analogy of the other oriental languages, on the ground of his personal examination ; but still the rules which he also has acquired are identically the same as in the other case. He can satisfy himself, moreover, from the usage of the cognate languages, that a Hebrew word must have a certain definite meaning ; but it is the same meaning which has already been introduced from these sources in the better class of lexicons of the language. The difference, therefore, as I have already shown, consists in this, that the latter method enables us to make the very same discoveries which have already been made

<sup>a</sup> Or rather by the occasional use of them.—*Tr.*

by grammarians and lexicographers, and also to try the correctness of their discoveries, while in the former we must altogether depend upon these for our information. But this difference is not of very great importance, since there is sufficient reason, as already stated, on the whole, to depend upon them.

But if indeed the examination and learning of others are, after all, to be relied on, so soon as the original sources themselves are abandoned, it may be said that, in this case, we may spare ourselves even this shorter course of study of the original languages of the Bible, and as well depend entirely upon the examination and learning of the translators.

It would seem, indeed, to be a matter of indifference, whether we trust the word of a lexicographer or of a translator, that a Hebrew expression has the meaning attached to it by the one or the other; for that the language has been studied from its original sources, may as well be supposed of the latter as of the former. If, therefore, only one such translation is at hand, it would seem capable of affording us as much service, and, at least, as much certainty, as may be derived from our own knowledge of the language, drawn merely from the grammar and a lexicon.

It must be confessed, that this is not altogether idle. And yet this very objection tends to show, that such a knowledge of the language as may be acquired in the compendious method laid down, must not be represented as superfluous.

In the translation of Luther, which is in most general use among us, it is by no means the case that we may always depend upon the fidelity of the transla-

tor ; for although the service performed by Luther was exceedingly great for the time in which he lived, yet, at present, the aid afforded by such a knowledge of the language as may be attained from our later Hebrew lexicons, supplies us in many places with a sense quite different from his ; and therefore we may still expect no small advantages from the use of them.<sup>a</sup>

With respect to more recent translations, as, for instance, that of the Old Testament by Michaelis, it may be granted that this difficulty may be removed. But here applies the observation which has been made in reference to profane philology, that the spirit of a work can never be represented in so clear and lively a manner, even in the best and most faithful translation, as it is displayed in the original language.

The sense of a writer may be transferred into a foreign tongue ; but of his spirit, of the form in which he represents his view, and of the nicer adaptation of his ideas to this form, and even to each other, something must unavoidably be lost, because something of all these is inseparably connected merely with his language. Whoever then can read him in his own language always possesses some advantage, and indeed not a small one, over the reader to whom he is intelligible only by means of a translation, even the most faithful that can be made. This consideration alone ought to have weight enough to induce every theologian to obtain at least as much knowledge of Hebrew,

<sup>a</sup> The remarks of the author respecting Luther's translation are applicable also to the standard version in English.—*Tr.*

as is required for that purpose ; and it should have the more weight in proportion to the facility with which this knowledge may be gained, and the small degree of time and effort that it requires.

In the second place. The necessity of studying the original language, applies to the Greek text of the New Testament, for reasons which I might almost say are more numerous and weighty ; and it applies here in proportion as the interpretation of the New Testament is more important for the divine than that of the Old. In this case, too, it is easier to draw our knowledge of the language of the New Testament immediately from one of the original sources, by which it may be supplied with the greatest certainty.

This is, as was before shown, the Septuagint version of the Old Testament. For, as it is certain that the Hellenistic language is susceptible of much illustration from the Oriental tongues, by the intermixture of which with the pure Greek it arose ; so is it equally certain that more light, which may be confidently trusted, is thrown upon it by that version alone, than can be introduced from all other sources. But this version is not so difficult of acquisition, nor so costly, nor so hard to use, that it may not be employed by every one, whose object is to learn the true spirit of the language, in which are comprehended the most important of our religious writings.

It may, therefore, without hesitation perhaps, be considered as the duty of every one, to acquire at least as much acquaintance with this version as with the text of the Old Testament, since the advantages to be derived from it are so abundant, and, at the same

time, so easily obtained. A mere grammatical knowledge of the Hebrew text is sufficient, in order to make most of the idioms that distinguish the language of this version clear and observable. And merely to have caught as much of the spirit of the Hebrew language as always communicates itself by such a grammatical knowledge, and depends upon it, is sufficient almost to show how such a Greek language must originate among men accustomed to think only in Hebrew, when they would express in the former language those conceptions which they had always formed in the latter. In this way a preliminary acquaintance with the language of the New Testament, and of the Apostles, will become so familiar, that it must afterwards, as soon as uttered, be recognised as the same with the other.

A method of studying this subject thus offers itself to our attention, as natural as it is easy and brief; which although indeed it cannot be altogether called a study of the sources for ourselves, is still by no means to be considered as merely historical, and dependent on compendious abridgements.

Before the student begins his philological examination of the New Testament, let him first read the Septuagint version, but in constant connexion with the Hebrew text. In this reading, as often as a peculiar idiom of the Hebrew language occurs, his attention should be particularly directed to the manner in which the translator has expressed it. He should especially impress upon his mind the form and the expressions, in which national and religious ideas of the Jews have been translated. In order to fix them the more firmly

in his memory, it would be well for him to make a short list of them ; and with this preparation let him then read the New Testament.<sup>a</sup>

This preparation will not only be attended with the result, that the student will not for a moment doubt respecting the kind of dialect that he finds in these writings, but it will have the still more important effect, that at the very first reading he will receive correct impressions respecting many important views, and this must have the most beneficial influence on his subsequent proper study of interpretation.

At the same time, it is also self-evident, that by continued and repeated reading of the New Testament, and of that translation, in part connected, in part alternately, the language of both may and must become more familiar, even their minute peculiarities more observable, and the whole structure of the phraseology, which prevails in them, better known. But as soon as this course has been pursued to a certain degree, the Concordance of the Septuagint by Trommius, and the Thesaurus of Biel, [or Schleusner,] may be used with the greatest advantage, as the principal and most excellent works to aid in studying the philology of the New Testament, in almost every particular case, and in every individual word.

When, by such a course, the student is in a situation to draw for himself, from the richest sources, for a knowledge of the New Testament language, he may,

<sup>a</sup> If to this course of preparation, the apocryphal books of the Old Testament, and some works in the common Greek dialect be added, it will be the more complete in itself, and the more advantageous in its results.—*Tr.*

with the less hesitation, make use of the illustrations within reach, which have already been drawn from other sources, and collected together in particular works, with perfect confidence in the integrity of the collectors, and with the least possible difficulty.

The illustrations referred to may be comprehended under two classes: those, on the one hand, which have been drawn from eastern sources, and also from Jewish of a more recent date, as from the Talmud and the Rabbins; and on the other, those which are derived from classic Greek writers, in order to explain the New Testament usage. The principal works of the most celebrated scholars, who have taken the trouble to collect them, have already been mentioned. These works are not very numerous, nor are they very difficult to obtain; and, moreover, the advantages which they afford, if a degree of accurate and mechanical arrangement be employed in the use of them, may be secured with an extremely trifling expense both of time and labour.

It will not require the private industry of a year, in order to extract, as far as may be necessary, all that has been collected to illustrate the New Testament, by Lightfoot and Schöttgen, from Hebrew and Rabbinical writers, by Elsner, Raphelius, Kypke, and others, from the Greek classics, and by Krebs and others, from Josephus and Philo.<sup>a</sup> And since in

<sup>a</sup> It is stated in the Biblical Repository, vol. iii. p. 757, that "Professor Theile, of Leipzig, announced in April 1832, that the exegetical part of Wetstein's New Testament, and all the remarks of the writers of *Observationes in N. T.*, as Alberti, Elsner, Krebs, Kypke, Lösner, Munthe, Raphel, &c.,

the arrangement of what is extracted, it is evidently most natural and convenient to introduce every thing under the passages of the New Testament, which are thereby illustrated or explained, (for which purpose an interleaved edition may be used,) in a short time a treasure of philological notes may easily be laid up. When this is done, they naturally retain their useful arrangement, are susceptible of continued augmentation with scarcely any additional trouble, and even in interpretation they are undoubtedly the most serviceable of all helps, and very frequently render all others superfluous.

The facility with which this method of studying the philology of the Greek Testament can be pursued may readily be urged as the strongest incentive to recommend it to every one, especially as it is the only method in which a fundamental knowledge of the subject is to be attained. It cannot be objected, that the acquisition of such a knowledge requires too much time, which ought to be devoted to other branches of theology ; on the contrary, it is evident, that in the other branches of theology, even in the most important, the advantages of such a thorough knowledge of the language of the apostles are incalculable, and that a vast deal more depends upon it than upon the language of the Old Testament.

Lastly, with respect to the limits, within which the

were to be arranged together under his supervision, and published in one *Corpus Observationum philologicarum in N. T.*" —I am unable to say whether this work has yet appeared. If executed with proper judgment, it would be an important acquisition to the library of any student.—*Tr.*

study of sacred criticism may be restricted without injury, the following may be defined as almost self-evident.

It is exceedingly clear, that personal application and practice of criticism are only possible in the case of a few, because the helps which are necessary for this purpose can, in their very nature, be employed only by a few. We must consequently be satisfied with using the discoveries of others, which, by the aid of some late works, can now be done with considerable facility.

So far as attention to this subject is required for interpretation, we may begin with one of the smaller critical editions of the Bible, in which only the most important various readings, or those of the most important places, are collected, without considering the larger works of Kennicott and De Rossi, or Mill and Wetstein, to be necessary. All that is essential for this purpose is, simply to obtain certain conviction respecting the genuine reading of those places which are adduced in support of doctrine. Here then it becomes necessary to acquire a knowledge of the various readings which are extant of such places, to draw them therefore from those works in which they are brought together, at the same time observing the grounds on which the value of each is determined. These may be found in such works, for instance, as Griesbach's New Testament. But those various readings of less moment, which relate to places of no great consequence, or do not at all affect the sense of a text, may, without disadvantage, be passed over in interpretation, however important they may frequently

be for the critic properly so called, who often finds in them most valuable disclosures respecting the character, the age, the derivation, and the family likeness of his manuscripts. It was therefore very necessary to form a collection of these; but, by one who merely intends to make use of criticism in order to pave the way for the more solid interpretation, they may be regarded as quite indifferent, and therefore he may, without loss, omit the study of those larger works, the greatest part of which is occupied merely in discoveries of this nature.

Although, from the nature of the subject, the student is thus far exonerated from the obligation of a personal application to criticism, and is allowed to limit his examination to the most important of those critical treasures which have been brought to light by others; yet there is one point from which no one should withhold his attention.

It is at least necessary for every one to acquire some personal knowledge of the way in which criticism can proceed in making its discoveries, of the materials with which it is employed, and then also of the principles by which it must be governed, of the caution that must be used, and of the errors that are to be avoided. For this purpose, a foundation must by all means be laid in some historical information respecting the character of the sources which must be resorted to, the age, the manner of origin, and the characteristic properties of the manuscripts, in which confidence is chiefly to be placed, the most remarkable varieties which tend to show their derivation from different families or recensions, and also respect-

ng what determines the value and the utility of the most ancient translations of the Greek text. This previous knowledge will enable the student to deduce for himself most of those rules of criticism which must regulate in the detection of interpolations, and in the restoration of the genuine readings; or certainly to form a judgment of his own with regard to their correctness.

Such a course, as that now suggested, will at least place the student in a situation, to examine, in some measure for himself, the grounds on which, among the various readings of a passage, a critic gives the preference to any particular one; for although he is obliged to rely upon the historical accounts which he receives from the critic, although he must believe on his word that the reading is to be found in this or that manuscript, or is confirmed by the authority of this or that version; yet he can now form his own judgment respecting the correctness or incorrectness of the opinion which had been drawn from the data.

These remarks are sufficient to show, that every theologian should endeavour to obtain at least as much knowledge of criticism as is necessary for this purpose; and the great ease with which this can be done adds weight to the obligation. In almost every introduction to the New or to the Old Testament, the most of what is required on this subject may be found. If a person wishes to go somewhat further into detail, he need only abstract one or two of the treatises on the principles of criticism which are introductory to Bengel's *Apparatus Criticus*, or Griesbach's works, and then it will scarcely give him any trouble, to add

whatever may, from time to time, be altered—or perhaps only differently modified—in the old principles by the discovery of new, or the improvement which such discoveries may have actually made.

The subjects, which have been stated, constitute those branches of learning which are comprehended in this work under the name of sacred philology ; and they should be studied in the manner above mentioned by every one during his theological course of three years, and in this manner every one can certainly study them with advantage. It is evident that in such a course, success depends chiefly upon a student's own industry, and that even the direction of a teacher is at most necessary only to give information respecting the literary helps, that is, the works which must be used. But experience gives still more certainty than anticipation would justify us in assuming, that nothing but PERSONAL INDUSTRY, DIRECTED BY SOME WELL ARRANGED SYSTEM, can accomplish a vast deal in this department in a short space of time.

# EXEGETICAL THEOLOGY.

## PART II.

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### HERMENEUTICS.

#### CHAPTER I.

THE last branch of knowledge which belongs to the study of exegetical theology, may very suitably be distinguished by the appropriate name of Hermeneutics.<sup>a</sup> The term Exegesis,<sup>b</sup> taken in a limited sense, has been applied to it, and such an application of the word may easily be justified, since, according to the use of language, the very same thing may be signified both by hermeneutics and exegesis. It may, however, still more easily be shown, that in the distribution of the various parts of theology, a distinction between these two should be observed ; or, that there are reasons for considering hermeneutics as one species of learning, which indeed belongs to a course of exegetical study, and is subordinate to exegesis.

In order to place this beyond the reach of doubt, it is only necessary to develope with accuracy the idea

<sup>a</sup> From *ἐγμηνεύω*, to interpret.—*Tr.*

<sup>b</sup> From *εξηγέσομαι*, to explain.—*Tr.*

which the term expresses, and to set in a clear light the object to which it is particularly devoted.

The general design of exegetical study, it is plain, is simply this; to place us in such a situation, that we may be able to use the sacred Scriptures, wherein the divine truths of our religion must be contained, as the very sources of those truths, and from them derive our knowledge. Now, after satisfying ourselves, first of all, respecting their genuineness, their incorruptness, and their origin, the very next condition which is required to understand and properly to use those writings, is, to become acquainted with the languages in which they were composed. A previous study of sacred philology is therefore necessary, although it is easy to see, and still more so to experience, that this alone is not enough to enable us thoroughly to attain the design in view. Knowledge of the languages does indeed appear to lead to it more nearly than any other. In fact, it is of itself sufficient, in many cases, to make us acquainted with the true sense of those writings, but not so in all, for there are very many in which something else is required.

It is possible, whatever writing we may be examining, very often to understand all the words by which a sentiment is expressed, while, at the same time, we are unable to discover any intelligible sense in them. And yet oftener may we understand all the words of a sentence, and still not be certain of the writer's meaning, because his words may admit of various significations, and, when taken together, may give several different senses. Consequently, certain rules, directions, and marks are necessary, to enable us to ascertain

and define what sense the author of a writing connected with the expressions which he selected, for this alone can be the true sense of the writing.

It is this which makes hermeneutics a distinct branch of learning, and thus a particular part of exegetical study ; for it is this which makes it obligatory to find out, examine, and apply those rules, aids, and directions of a higher character, by means of which, the true sense of our sacred Scriptures, can, without error, be investigated and perceived.

But, before entering into the actual discussion of the question, whence hermeneutics must derive these rules and directions, and obtain these aids and marks to guide the inquirer, it may not be useless to dwell for a moment on a preliminary observation, the immediate purport of which is indeed only to place the necessity of this particular science in a clearer light, but which, at the same time, may give most of the results in reference to that question.

The necessity of hermeneutics is undoubtedly shown in the strongest light, from the fact which experience attests, that our sacred Scriptures not only can be interpreted in the greatest variety of manner, but also that from time immemorial they have been so interpreted. All Christian sects, both those of ancient, and those of modern times, have always known how to explain scripture in such a way, as to elicit their own particular opinions ; and since their opinions are often contradictory, some of them must therefore find there the very opposite views to those which meet the eyes of others.

Let it be supposed now, that each of these sects

announces its determination to proceed according to certain hermeneutical rules. Although, indeed, this would afford no favourable presentiment respecting the confident reliance which ought to be placed in them, yet it would be a strong proof of the absolute necessity of establishing such rules as a foundation to act upon. For whoever is not conscious of having conducted his interpretations according to such rules, cannot certainly think of attempting to defend or to oppose the correctness of an exposition. Now, there is not a single one of those sects willing to confess, that they have interpreted in a merely arbitrary manner, and consequently every one of them does, by this very circumstance, allow the necessity of hermeneutics, but at the same time also, every one of them shows very plainly what sort of hermeneutics is necessary, or what kind of rules ought to be established, in order to be useful.

We ought, in one word, to have such rules as both can and must be regarded, generally, as true and binding. So long as such principles are applied as are admitted by one party only, and rejected by others, it is impossible to unite in the true meaning of Scripture, because it is impossible for the one party to convince the other of the truth of their interpretations, or to show the falsehood of the opposite. But while this has always been attempted by each, even from the earliest periods, each has also maintained, that its own laws of interpretation are of such a nature, that they ought to be admitted by every one, for on no other supposition could a wish to make the attempt occur to any one's mind. On other grounds

also, we know that each party is satisfied of this. Each, therefore, does certainly receive it as an axiom, that there are rules of interpretation, which are to be generally admitted as true, and that merely these and none others ought to be prescribed to hermeneutics.

It might be foreseen, also, that it must be very possible to deceive one's self, either in ascertaining these rules, or in trusting too much to their generally connecting power, or even in the application of them; for, if this were not the case, inquirers would not have been able to discover such various and conflicting views in the Bible. The true reason of this is immediately perceived, as soon as the source is named from which these rules must be drawn, and from which alone they can be drawn. This source need no longer be sought for; for as soon as it is admitted, that the rules must be so framed, that they can be regarded as generally true and binding, only one can possibly be recognised.

In a word, that which alone must be generally respected, and the authority of which must be generally acknowledged, is pure reason; so that it is this alone from which hermeneutics can receive its directions, and borrow the respect which it requires. This principle must the more necessarily be allowed, as soon as we come to explain what God's revelation, or what the meaning of his declarations must be. The man whom reason cannot tell, that such a sense, and none other, lies in a revelation, is not bound to take it in this sense. If, then, it cannot be proved, that an interpretation of a passage in the Bible is agreeable to reason, or, in other words, that sound reason can find

no other sense in it than this, it ought not to be expected, that a man should acquiesce in the interpretation.<sup>a</sup>

The whole art then, and the whole duty of hermeneutics, must consist simply in this, to explain with reason, that is, to explain in such a manner as is agreeable to those general laws of nature, according to

<sup>a</sup> I have endeavoured to express the author's meaning, without confining myself closely to his language. It is evident that he speaks of reason uninfluenced by prejudice, and in this sense, the correctness of his remark is undeniable, as, truth must make its appeal to this principle. This is the foundation of argument. All truths must be agreeable to pure reason, although many are far removed from the grasp of limited reason which man is able to appropriate. Whatever truths are rejected by the understanding, are rejected from ignorance or prejudice.

“Unto the word of God,” says Hooker, “being in respect of that end for which God ordained it, perfect, exact, and absolute in itself, we do not add reason as a supplement of any maim or defect therein, but as a necessary instrument, without which we could not reap by the scripture's perfection that fruit and benefit which it yielded.”—“Because the sentences which are by the Apostles recited out of the Psalms, to prove the resurrection of Jesus Christ, did not prove it, if so be the prophet David meant them of himself, this exposition therefore they plainly disprove, and show by manifest reason, that of David the words of David could not possibly be meant. Exclude the use of natural reasoning about the sense of holy scripture, concerning the articles of our faith, and then that the scripture doth concern the articles of our faith, who can assure us? That which by right exposition buildeth up Christian faith, being misconstrued, breedeth error; between true and false construction, the difference reason must show.” Ecclesiastical Polity, Book iii. § 8. The whole section is particularly worthy of the reader's attention.—*Tr.*

which the soul of man must always govern itself in forming its thoughts and conceptions, in conveying its conceptions to others, and in receiving those which others communicate; or, in other words, all hermeneutics can be nothing else than unsophisticated logic applied to the explanation of scripture.

It is unnecessary now to prove this. But the clearer it is placed before our eyes, and placed before them as incontrovertibly true, the more natural does the question become,—whether such laws of interpretation, agreeable to reason, do really offer themselves, and whether from the general natural laws of thinking, such principles can be drawn, the truth, correctness, and applicability of which, can generally be perceived.

Judging from experience, as already suggested, it would seem scarcely possible that such principles can exist, or else extremely difficult to discover them; for otherwise, how could opinions, so numerous, so diversified, and even in part so contradictory, be deduced by interpretation from the Scriptures? If true hermeneutics must derive its principles only from the general laws of thinking, or, in a word, from logic, hermeneutics can be but one for all persons, as is the case with logic and reason. But then, all persons, by applying this one hermeneutics, would necessarily find only one and the same sense in the Scripture, or it is clear that they could not conduct their operations according to the same laws. This appears to be undeniable, and therefore it is at least no less so, that these rules of a reasonable hermeneutics, which are

universally recognised as the true and only correct rules, are not very readily discoverable; else, they would not have been so various as they must have been, if we may judge from the variety of interpretations which have resulted. Yet the phenomena on which this conclusion has been founded, undoubtedly do often arise from a cause altogether different from this difficulty.

The variety of interpretations and methods of interpreting, which, in various ages have gratified the fancy, originated much less frequently from variety in the principles of interpretation themselves, than from the various application which was made of them. There have, undoubtedly, been interpreters, who were guided by principles entirely false and unreasonable, and therefore their expositions bear in the very face of them the character of falsehood so remarkably, that the sound understanding perceives it at the first look; but still, most interpreters, or certainly the greater number, proceeded upon principles altogether correct, and differing from each other only in the application of them, for which many qualifications are requisite, which are not so easily found in connection, because they cannot be brought together without difficulty.

This will show itself in the clearest light, when some of these principles of interpretation themselves are developed, which simple reason prescribes to hermeneutics, or which this alone derives from unsophisticated logic. Those only which are of the most general kind can naturally be selected, and consequent-

ly, it will not be possible here to develope more than three or four, but these are of such a nature, that most of those which are more particular in their character, may readily be drawn from them. But this developement will most evidently show with what ease, on the one hand, these general rules can be formed, or at least be proved to human understanding to be correct and obligatory ; and at the same time also, on the other, how much the application of them requires and presumes ; how easily, therefore, they may be variously applied ; and how necessarily this must produce variety of interpretation.

## CHAPTER II.

I. THE first of all the laws of interpretation is certainly this : to endeavour to investigate the sense of a writing or passage which is to be interpreted according to the signification which the general usage of the language, or also the well known particular usage of the writer, connects with the words which he employs. The rule, in one word, amounts to this : we should seek, in the first place, the literal sense of every passage to be interpreted, as it must be afforded, either by the general usage, or by one which is peculiar to the writer. But why this must be sought first, is a point which need not be explained to any one ; for every man's natural sense will tell him why, and will also instinctively bring him first to this means of exposition.

It is indeed natural for every one to presume, that a man who intends to make himself understood by another, can use his words only in a sense which others also attach to them, or, if he uses them in another sense, can only use them in such a one as others will immediately recognise to be his. The reader will therefore take his expressions only in a signification in which every other man takes them when they occur also elsewhere, or in that in which he is elsewhere, as is well known, accustomed to employ them. Let a man first investigate this with care, and in most cases he will find very little more to be necessary in order to determine the true sense of his author.

This no one has doubted, and no one can doubt, who is possessed of a sound understanding. Still, there have been expositors, as will be noticed hereafter in the history of this subject, who have maintained, that different principles may apply to the Bible; who, for this very reason, do not deserve to be refuted. Yet, if all had agreed in this—if all interpreters had proceeded on this first law of exposition, it would still be very easy to explain how the greatest variety of interpretations must, notwithstanding, be introduced, and equally evident is it whence they must spring.

In the application of this principle all depends on the correctness and accuracy of our knowledge of language, and these can, must, and will ever be exceedingly various. When an interpreter understands an expression merely according to the proper, and not also according to the figurative significations, which the usage of language attaches to it, what widely different

expositions must he sometimes produce from the exposition given by others ! Another may indeed have a sufficiently full and correct acquaintance with the general usage of language ; he may know with great accuracy all the significations in which a word is generally taken, while, at the same time, the particular usage of the writer is unknown to him : consequently, he does not know the precise meaning in which the writer is accustomed to use the word. How different then must be the sense which he finds, from that which another derives by means of a nicer knowledge of language ! And if again another explains, according to the pure Greek idiom, what a third perceives to be a peculiarity of the Hellenistic dialect, how remarkably must their interpretations vary, merely from this one cause !

Scarcely anything but this single consideration, founded on fact, that in different periods of Christianity, and among its different sects, the knowledge of language has been exceedingly various, is necessary, in order to show most plainly, how, in different ages and among different sects, such vastly diversified and in part contradictory materials could be found in the Bible. All, or at least much the greater number (for, alas, the remark is not true of all,) had understanding enough to discern, that in explaining Scripture it must be the first care to understand the sense in which the expressions of the writers were in part generally employed in other places, and in part by themselves in particular. They all perceived too, that, for this purpose, it was necessary to become acquainted both with the language in general, and with the particular usage

of the writers. Most of them supposed that they had formed such an acquaintance ; but how did this knowledge of language appear in certain periods ?

Was there not a time, when it was thought that everything in the Bible must be interpreted properly,<sup>a</sup> because the figurative language of the East was utterly unknown ? Was there not another time, when expositors would see no Hebraisms in the language of the New Testament, because it was taken for granted, that all which the Holy Spirit communicated by inspiration to the apostles must be pure Greek ? And was there not again another, and a long period, when men could find no other sense in the expressions of Scripture, but what the doctrinal usage of language belonging to later centuries had connected with them, without a suspicion, that they themselves and their age could have attached to them any other ideas ?

The result is evident. It is equally evident that such a result could not but take place ; and moreover, it is now evident, and the reason is also clear, that interpretation could not make sure progress, until sacred philology was cultivated with more zeal, and with the assistance of superior aids, with better taste and more learning. **ONLY THE PHILOLOGIST CAN BE AN INTERPRETER.** It is true, that the office of interpretation requires more than mere philology or an acquaintance with language ; but all those other qualifications

<sup>a</sup> This word is used in a technical sense, for *literally*, as indeed the term *figurative*, which follows, would suggest. Comp. Ernesti's Elements of Interpretation, translated by Stuart, § 42, p. 21.—*Tr.*—See also Ernesti's Institutes, Bib. Cab. v. i. chap. 2. p. 40.

that may belong to it are useless without this acquaintance, whilst, on the contrary, in very many cases nothing more than this is necessary, for correct interpretation.

The truth of this observation will be shown by the additional general laws of interpretation, which must now be adduced, in reference to those cases, which mere knowledge of language is not sufficient to explain.

II. The second general law of interpretation is this: always to explain with a view to the spirit and mode of thinking of the age for which a writing was immediately intended; or, to express this in clearer and more general terms,—that may always be considered as the true sense of the writer to be explained, which, either alone, or at least as the most natural sense, could be suggested by his expressions to the men, to whom and for whom he wrote.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> To prevent the possibility of misapprehending the author's meaning, I beg leave to suggest—what, however, can hardly escape the observation of all discerning readers—that the rule does not direct the interpreter to allow the spirit and mode of thinking of the age to modify or do away the evident meaning of a passage, but merely to assist him in ascertaining what the meaning is. In connection with the subject, it may be proper to add another consideration, in itself very evident, and yet not sufficiently attended to by some modern commentators. Before the interpreter appeals to the spirit and mode of thinking of his author's age, in order to illustrate a supposed difficulty, let him ascertain with as much certainty as the case will admit, what that spirit is, lest he apply a principle arising out of his imagination, rather than one supplied by historic evidence. It is said by some commentators, that the narrative

When the rule is expressed in this form, the reason of it also is so clearly recognised, that no development can be necessary even to the most uneducated man. Every writer wishes indeed to be understood naturally. Consequently, he will not only always employ his expressions in the sense which his readers will connect with them, but, in the ideas which he communicates to them, he will always be governed by their ability to comprehend, and will pay regard to their particular manner of forming conceptions of subjects, and this either intentionally, or because, as it is common to the whole age, it is also his own.

When, therefore, a reader meets in a work with ideas which he knows were in circulation among those for whom the work was intended, and were circulated in a certain definite form ; when he finds there not only particular words and phrases, but entire representa-

of our Lord's temptation is only a parabolical representation of evil and distressing thoughts arising in his mind, which he strongly repressed, and thus prevented the natural result of such reflections : and this they say is represented, agreeably to the Jewish manner, and in the spirit of the apostolic age, as if the devil had assaulted him with temptations. So again, the account of an appearance of an angel to Zacharias, and also to Mary, merely denotes the providential agency of God, expressed according to the mode of thinking prevalent at that time. Before such representations of apparent facts can advance any reasonable claim to attention, it ought to be shown that such was the manner of thinking, and of expressing one's thoughts in plain prose composition, among the Jews, when the New Testament was written. Any reference to the machinery of poetry would be entirely irrelevant. Let the reader compare what the author says on the abuse of higher criticism pages 164, 165.—*Tr.*

tions and series of representations characteristic of the age in which the work originated : he may confidently presume, that the writer whom he would explain connected therewith the same sense which they must first present to his readers, even if grammatical exposition could discover in his expressions another sense. Otherwise, he must undoubtedly have been misunderstood, had he in this way expressed thoughts different from those which his contemporaries would thus have communicated ; and certainly no rational writer will expose himself to unavoidable misconception.

We know, for example, what idea the Jews in the time of Christ associated with the phrase, “ kingdom of heaven.” If then we were to take this phrase in its grammatical and verbal meaning, we should most assuredly explain it incorrectly ; for we may with the strictest propriety, indeed, we must assume it as indisputable, that Christ and his apostles employed it in the same way as their nation,<sup>a</sup> for this plain reason, that their nation would not have understood them, if by this expression they had intended to convey to them a different idea.

Yet, there are several cases where we are compel-

<sup>a</sup> The author means, I suppose, that our Lord and his apostles, in common with their nation, used this phrase to express the authority and government of the divine Messiah. That our Lord attached to it a very different meaning from the one in which it was understood by the great body of the Jews, and the Apostles themselves originally, who employed the phrase to express their gross idea of a temporal reign, is too evident to require any proof. See Robinson's Lexicon from Wahl's Clavis, under *βασιλεία*, No. 4.—Tr.

led to determine the sense of certain places of the Bible, solely from some local and temporary opinions, circumstances, or prejudices of the men for whom they were originally written ; or are compelled, first to examine carefully what ideas these men could attach thereto ; since, by an interpretation merely grammatical, without regard to those historical circumstances, no sense can be discovered, or else one which, on other grounds, is plainly perceived to be erroneous. There are in the Gospels themselves several allusions to national Jewish opinions, or to particular sectarian views, especially those maintained by the Pharisees,—to traditions and sayings of former times, preserved among the people,—to particular historical facts, which at the time particularly engaged the attention of the people, —and even to proverbs that were probably in most frequent use.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Illustrations of most of the author's remarks in this paragraph will be perceived by an examination of the following passages. 1 Cor. vi. 26, ss. xi. 10. Acts xxi. 21—26. Luke xvii. 20, 21, xix. 11. 2 Cor. xii. 2, last clause. Rev. i. 4, iv. 5. Matt. iii. 9. Rom. ix. 7. Several places in our Lord's sermon on the mount. John ix. 2. Matt. xxii. 17, 23. Mark vii. 3, 4. Luke xiii. 1, 4, xix. 12. Matt. iii. 11. Luke iii. 16. Matt. xxiv. 21, (Comp. Ezek. v. 9. Dan. xii. 1. Joel ii. 2.) 28. Luke xxiii. 31. John i. 46, iv. 35, 37. In Luke ii. 27, the word "parents" is used in accommodation to popular or legal opinion. Nolan indeed argues against Griesbach's preferring "father" to "Joseph," in v. 33, from its being the language of an Evangelist, and consequently expressive of his own opinion. Therefore, he says, the case is different from John i. 46, where the sacred historian merely relates the declaration of Philip. He proceeds to say, that "from Luke ii.

In the epistles of St. Paul, several places may be found, where he argues as it were *κατ' ἀνθρωπον*, from Jewish and Gentile ideas ; and again there are others where he draws conclusions entirely according to the particular modes of reasoning pursued by those with whom he had to do.<sup>a</sup>

If, then, we are wholly unacquainted with these points, we shall find in most of these places either no sense, or what they contain will be unintelligible to us, or we shall elicit representations which are so plainly at variance with each other, with the connection, with the views and sentiments of the writer, as known to us from other sources, that we must immediately perceive them to be incorrect.

In such cases, it is a real pressure of necessity, which imposes on us the law, to have regard in our interpretation to the mode of thinking of the first readers, and to what they could and must have understood.

48—50, it will appear, that had St. Luke assigned any father to Christ but God, it must have been by grossly confounding what our Lord had expressly distinguished.” Inquiry into the integrity of the Greek Vulgate, p. 169, Note 135. Comp. also page 475, Note 88.—Yet certainly St. Luke might have applied the word “ father” to Joseph, as he has the term “ parents” to Joseph and Mary, without exposing himself to any such charge. He merely adopts the current language ; or he may regard Joseph as legal father of Jesus. In either view, Nolan’s ground is untenable. Other references might easily be added, but they are supposed to be unnecessary.—*Tr.*

<sup>a</sup> The reader will find some observations on this point, and on the doctrine of accommodation as connected with it, in a subsequent note — *Tr.*

Even in the fact that such cases do exist, lies the strongest proof that this must always be done naturally and without any violence; and hence will it at the same time be most sensibly felt, how indispensable an acquaintance with the spirit and with the history of the age in which our sacred writings arose, an acquaintance with the mode of thinking of the men, and indeed, in some respects, an acquaintance with the personal circumstances of the men, for whom they were originally composed, must be, for a correct interpretation, and one in which we may repose implicit confidence.

But here, who does not again see what endless variety of interpretations must arise merely from variety in the nature and compass of the historical knowledge, which the interpreter's resources enable him to apply to exposition? If sound understanding tells every man, that in interpreting he must place himself within the sphere of the ideas and views of the original readers,—if, moreover, all had the intention to do this,—and indeed, if all had actually done so, it could not readily have happened, that all should have done so in an equal degree. One interpreter, whose acquaintance with these ideas was intimate, must find them in many more places than another whose knowledge of them was only of a general nature. And there have been many interpreters who knew nothing at all of the local and temporary meaning of certain phrases and expressions in the Bible; to whom, in fact, it never once occurred, that the early Jews could have attached other ideas to certain forms of speech than those which the literal sense of the terms expressed,

and who consequently found nothing further therein but what was drawn out by this sense.

III. But, along with this general rule of hermeneutics, a third must necessarily be connected, by which the application and the applicability of the second receive some qualifications, without which indeed it ought to be immediately rejected. The rule is this: in interpreting a writing, constant reference should be had to the character, views, and known principles of the writer, from whom it originates.

The palpable reason on which this rule is founded, is likewise very easy to be perceived by a mind of plain, good sense. The character of a writer is, in reality, nothing else than a combination of all that must mark out and modify his particular way of thinking, of treating subjects, and of expressing himself. To explain the opinions and views of a writer from his character, is therefore in fact nothing else than always to go upon the supposition, that he has formed such conceptions as, according to the entire situation, and all the circumstances in which he was placed, according to his own particular education, according to his personal relations, he could and must form most naturally: and who will not always do this of his own accord?

It is also equally unnecessary to show, why particular respect must likewise be paid to his design, and to his principles, as otherwise understood. This indeed is nothing else than to suppose, that a man of understanding will not readily act in opposition to his own design—will not, in general, easily contradict himself—will not without some evident cause alter his opinions:

—and who feels not of himself the reasonableness and even the irresistible force of this demand?

Very readily, too, may it be anticipated, that the application of these rules in interpreting the Bible in particular, must often be necessary, and that very much must depend upon it. Hence also it is, that no interpreter has ventured to abandon them; only the application of them must be of the most varied kind, and of course the expositions resulting, must unavoidably be equally varied. One interpreter may have formed a different view of the character of a sacred writer from another, or may have ascribed to him a different design; and thus he would find in him ideas altogether different from those which would be perceived by the other, although both had been governed by the same principles.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> It would be easy to illustrate the truth of this remark, by referring merely to certain places in the gospel of St. John. An interpreter who presumes it to be the author's design to refute the errors of Cerinthus, will very readily discover the Gnostic æons in the former part of the first chapter. Another who believes that the apostle intended to attack the heresy of the Docetae, finds satisfactory evidence of this, in the particularity with which the account of our Lord's death is detailed, the piercing of his side with a spear, and the issuing out of blood and water. If it be assumed, that the Evangelist wrote in order to confute the notions of John the Baptist's disciples, that their master was the true Messiah, clear proof is thought to be afforded by several passages. So important is it to form a right view of the character and design of a writer.

The correctness of the three principles laid down in the text, will be allowed, I presume, by most readers. As is the case with respect to all general principles, much care is requisite in applying them; and from the tone and manner of the

Nothing can possibly prevent this, but as extensive and accurate historical acquaintance as can be formed with all the personal circumstances of a writer, and with all the local and temporary circumstances connected with his writing, united with a nice perception of the nature and operations of the soul ; which, unhappily, is not easily communicated, and is only to be comprehended by one who has a susceptibility of such impressions.

### CHAPTER III.

THESE three general laws comprise almost all that can be prescribed to hermeneutics. Whatever particular rules may still further be imposed, may at least with great propriety be drawn from them, or have their foundation in them. But if this be really so, who does not perceive, that sacred hermeneutics, or the art of expounding the Bible, may well be said to have no rules whatever, which are peculiar to itself ? If these are the three great principles on which we must proceed in interpreting our sacred scriptures, it is evident that we must act in relation to the Bible, just as in relation to every other writing, must bring out its true meaning precisely by the same means as we would apply to any other book ; in a word, in explaining the Bible, we must do the very same thing author's representations, I cannot but think him disposed to carry out the application beyond what the facts exhibited in the scriptures require.—*Tr.*

which sound understanding, and rational (which is also natural,) logic always require to be done, in explaining every other book in the world.

This is most undoubtedly the fact, and the correctness of this position may even be proved with irresistible evidence. It was the most extraordinary of all prejudices, which, in former ages, led to its denial, or at least prevented it from being openly asserted; for not only is there no reason or circumstance that can be adduced to show the possibility of the contrary, but it may be proved on the strongest ground, *a priori*, that the fact could not possibly be otherwise.

Even the particular connection which it may have with the inspiration of our sacred scriptures, the very peculiarity which they may thereby receive, and the characteristic features whereby this may distinguish them, not only can cause no difference in interpreting them, and in the principles or helps which must be applied in order to investigate, and in general to ascertain their meaning, but it binds us yet the firmer to those principles, and secures to us with the more certainty the result, which we may promise ourselves, from the application of these natural means.

The more certain it is that these writings originated from God, the more thoroughly we may be convinced that it is he who has inspired the authors with their contents, the more clear and definite our ideas respecting the manner of this inspiration, may become, the stronger must be our obligation, or the stronger must we feel it to be, to interpret them according to the rules which we would apply to every other book

intended for man's use ; for God cannot have announced himself to men in any other way than that which is adapted to men. And the more certainly may we also expect, by the aid of these general rules correctly applied, to discover with satisfactory confidence, the true sense of scripture ; which is not always the case, with regard to a human writing. The ground of all those rules, the ground of the whole system of hermeneutics, rests solely and entirely on the supposition, that the author of a writing has thought according to the same laws, according to the same mode of reasoning, and also in the same order as other reasonable men. In human writings, this supposition may not unfrequently be erroneous ; for it is not every writer who has always thought according to a correct mode of reasoning, and in a natural order. But as it is impossible that this can be the case with inspired writings, it is impossible that the principles of interpretation which are founded thereon, should ever lead us astray when applied to these writings.

But, it is difficult to determine the limits of inspiration, and this difficulty is increased in proportion as we run out into particulars. In our own time, therefore, the extraordinary apprehension, which once prevailed, with regard to the principle, that it is necessary to interpret the Bible like any human book, is almost entirely abandoned. There is one particular point, however, with respect to which an exception is considered as necessary, and this has arisen from the somewhat doubtful use which has been made of it by certain modern interpreters. It is necessary, there-

fore, to add here a few remarks in relation to it, for the point is one of great consequence, on which very much indeed depends ; and it is an important point, which, although first agitated in our own day, has already, in many instances, and certainly in some not without design, been involved in confusion.<sup>a</sup>

In connection with the second law of hermeneutics above stated, by which every book should be explain-

<sup>a</sup> In the preceding remarks, the author has expressed himself in general and unqualified language. It cannot be denied, that the same principles must govern the interpreter of scripture, as are used in explaining other writings. And yet, the peculiar character of certain portions of scripture is such, as to allow, and very reasonably too, an interpretation, which could not with certainty be elicited, without conceding such a view of their character as cannot be pretended to apply to that of any other writings extant. I refer to whatever portions of the Old Testament are really typical of events connected with the New Dispensation ; and also to those portions of the prophecies, which, while they declare truths and facts in immediate connection with that religious system under which the authors lived, do also announce other truths and facts of a subsequent age, and identified with doctrines and realities belonging to the Gospel. This is not the place to discuss the whole subject connected with this remark, but the scriptural fact on which it is founded, constitutes a striking difference between some portions of scripture and ordinary writings. In such cases, therefore, the allowed principles by which writings in general are explained, are not of themselves sufficient. The comment in the New Testament, which can in no case be proved to be incorrect, must be regarded by the Christian expositor in the light of a principle beyond the ordinary principles of interpretation, and must become an additional aid to him in eliciting the true meaning. Comp. Ps. viii. with Heb. ii. 6—9.—*Tr.*

ed according to the spirit, the mode of thinking, and the views formed by those for whom it was immediately written, the question occurs : does this extend to erroneous and incorrect representations of the age which gave birth to our sacred scriptures ? or, in other words, is it to be presumed, that the authors of our sacred scriptures did themselves entertain the unfounded prejudices of their contemporaries, or at least have occasionally been governed thereby, have brought themselves down, and, to express myself in the usual phraseology, have accommodated themselves to these prejudices ?

It is easy to perceive how much depends on this question, for it were easy to anticipate, (and in our own time this has been brought home to us by experience,) what exceedingly diversified systems of doctrine may thus be framed, as the one or the other principle involved in the question is applied to interpretation. And on this account, the opposers of this accommodation, that is, of the opinion, that our Lord and his apostles were occasionally influenced by the erroneous views of their day, have been so earnest on the point, that their zeal seems to have led them somewhat farther than was necessary, and probably indeed somewhat farther than wisdom would have dictated. They have sometimes attempted to deny, what it is clear cannot be denied ; while they should have satisfied themselves with insisting on some limitations, which proceed so evidently from the very nature of the case, that their validity and correctness cannot possibly be doubted.

The following observations in relation to this matter may be sufficient to set it in its true light. They do not indeed by any means exhaust the subject, but they touch upon the principal points, which it is important to notice in defining this question, and in deciding upon its merits; and thus, inasmuch as this is not the proper place for a full development, they may at least obviate some part of the mischief which might arise from a distorted, half true, or partial representation.<sup>a</sup>

I. In the first place, no one need be alarmed, if he should hear it maintained, that in our holy scriptures, as well those of the New as those of the Old Testament, passages occasionally occur, in which the authors, in which even our Lord and his apostles, accommodate to the views of their contemporaries, even when those views are erroneous. The idea from which, whether clearly or imperfectly conceived, such alarm may originate, and in some instances has originated, namely, that the sentiment is in the highest degree unworthy of the Holy Spirit, by whom those writings were inspired, can never in a general point of view justify him, for, in general, it is incorrect.

<sup>a</sup> After some deliberation, I have concluded to omit a few passages in some of the following paragraphs, and in others to modify in some degree, the author's language, inasmuch as it is unnecessarily strong, even admitting the correctness of his views respecting accommodation. In reference to this subject, I beg leave to direct the reader's attention to Note vii; at the same time requesting him to keep in mind the limitations suggested by the author himself.

If it be not unworthy of a wise instructor, to bring himself down to the childlike conceptions of his pupils ; it cannot be unworthy of God, if, in the instructions which he communicated to men, he should occasionally have done the same thing, in order to make the truths which, at the same time, he wished to convey to them, the more easily intelligible.

Every shadow of indecorum is entirely removed, by restricting the application of this principle to such cases, as do not come within the sphere of those views, which, according to the divine intention, are to be communicated only by a particular revelation, and thus, in a word, merely to those things, which, properly speaking, do not belong to religious truths. For, in order to find in it any thing objectionable and improper, we must either assume, that God must have instructed men respecting every thing without exception, on which they entertained incorrect sentiments ; or, that he must at least have expressed himself correctly on all those subjects respecting which their ideas were erroneous, even with the danger of being unintelligible to them.

It is evident, for instance, that if the sacred writers, or the Holy Spirit who inspired them, had used perfectly correct language in reference to some points in their time generally misunderstood, for example, in reference to some natural phenomena, the true causes of which the knowledge of philosophy then prevailing was incompetent to explain ; either they could not have been understood by their contemporaries, or else to these a new system of natural philosophy must have been revealed. But if the one would have been

senseless, and the other without an object, as every one will immediately perceive, what remains but to allow that God must have come down to the erroneous ideas of these men, in order to make those correct views which were to be communicated to them, in part more intelligible, and in part more impressive?

It is certainly then not necessary to deny that the sacred writers have done this, and that the prophets in the Old Testament, as the apostles in the New, have sometimes accommodated themselves to incorrect views of the people, to opinions generally prevailing in their time. What then should prevent us from acknowledging, that the prophets and apostles did not merely accommodate to these views, but that they themselves also, at least some among them, did participate in them, in common with their contemporaries?

Their inspiration, whatever ideas may be formed respecting it, and how far soever it may be extended, cannot possibly prove anything to the contrary, for it can in no way be injured by it. We cannot surely suppose, that the authors of the New Testament were of themselves so far in advance of their own age, as to have always possessed, on points not connected with religion, sounder, clearer and more refined ideas than their contemporaries? In that case it would be necessary to suppose, that the power of inspiration was governed in its operations by the ability of the men on whom it acted to comprehend, as our Lord so evidently was in the oral instruction which he imparted to his disciples. They were not taught all things at once, they were not at once freed from all their

prejudices. Why then, notwithstanding their inspiration, may not traces of these be still found in their writings?

But it is unnecessary to ask, whether this may be supposed, since it is impossible not to see that the fact is really so. It cannot, by any construction, but the most unnatural, be concealed, that our sacred writers, and even Christ himself and his apostles, did occasionally direct their instructions in reference to imperfect views current in their age, and even to views not strictly correct; and as little can it be concealed, that the latter, the apostles, sometimes brought forward these views as their own, which most probably they held in common with their age.

To prove this, it is not necessary to resort to examples taken from the Old Testament. Are there not in the discourses of our Lord himself instances of the first which are altogether irresistible, and with regard to the last, have we not the most definite testimonies of the apostles themselves?

For example, when Jesus says to the Jews, in Matt. xii. 27: "if I, according to your charge, cast out the demons through Beelzebub, through whom do your sons cast them out?" it is quite evident, that he reasons from the common opinion entertained by the Jews, as if the exorcists, who abounded among them, did really possess and exercise the power of expelling demons. But who supposes that any real truth lies at the bottom of this common conceit? And in the same conversation, when in v. 44, 45, he speaks of a demon going out of a man, wandering in waste and dry places, and afterwards taking along with him

seven others, and again returning to his old habitation, it is abundantly evident, that he took all these particulars from the Jewish doctrine respecting demons, which, as we learn from the apocryphal book of Tobit, ch. viii., had long been received among them: and who can persuade himself to admit these particulars as truths of the world of spirits, authenticated and established by him? And, when in John iii. 8, he says to Nicodemus, respecting the wind, “ thou canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth,” it cannot be doubted, that the very inadequate, imperfect and erroneous acquaintance with the operations of nature which then prevailed in his nation is assumed as the standard.

It were easy to adduce more instances to the same purpose, but these are quite sufficient to show (at least in general) beyond all doubt, that there are places in the New Testament, where our Lord accommodates his teaching or language to the prevalent erroneous views. That the apostles themselves cherished some of these errors, requires no further proof than what is afforded by their history and education, as delineated in their own writings. It is only necessary to consider, who these men were previously to their becoming associated with Christ, and under his particular direction. We may see, even in their history, how much national prepossession, how many opinions entertained by the people generally, how many incorrect views, were held by them, even after they had enjoyed his instructions during three years. We need only weigh this fact, how long, even after the death of our Lord and the effusion of the Holy Ghost, they continued

to cling to their expectation of an earthly reign of the Messiah, to their attachment to the ceremonies of the Levitical law, to their Jewish peculiarities, and we shall find reason to believe, that, in other points, on which their Master, agreeably to his design, had imparted to them no particular information, their conceptions were not clearer than those of their age and nation. We are not only authorized, but we are obliged to suppose, that, in points which have no connection with religion, the apostles thought, for the most part, with their age. Consequently, it follows, as a fundamental rule of hermeneutics, that in interpreting their writings, careful attention must be paid to this.

## CHAPTER IV.

TOGETHER with these fundamental rules, it is necessary to connect two others, which spring immediately from them, and alone determine their applicability, as they must always lead us in making use of them. The first, their applicability, receives thereby some limitations, which are sufficient to remove all solicitude from the mind of the most anxious interpreter, while they are so firmly settled in the nature of the subject, that the most liberal cannot possibly avoid acknowledging their claims.

II. Whatever reasons there may be for supposing that our sacred writers have occasionally expressed themselves according to the views of their age, and

even when these views were unfounded, yet, in the second place, this is never to be assumed in any particular instance, unless supported by clear and proper signs, that such is the fact. In other words, it is never justifiable, on the principles of hermeneutics, to apply the doctrine of accommodation to any passage, unless it can be historically shown, that the passage does really contain an opinion prevalent at the time, and, farther still, unless it can be proved from internal evidence, that this prevalent opinion is erroneous. The justice of these requisitions, every man of sound understanding can easily be made to feel, if he has no interested motive to induce him to avoid their force. Whenever a writer's declaration is said to be accommodated, it is also necessarily implied, that nothing really true is contained in it. But, in relation to every writer, it is proper to require sufficient evidence of this, and, in relation to our sacred writers, it is still more requisite ; otherwise, truly, it would be very easy to explain away whatever a man finds in the Bible which is disagreeable to him. Those persons who are not satisfied with the doctrine of the divinity of Christ, need only have said, that from the earliest ages,—“it was a national idea of the Jews, to conceive of their Messiah as invested with the splendour of the Deity, as a person in whom resided the whole fulness of the Godhead, and according to this idea is he represented, by the apostles.” The opposers of the doctrine of the atonement might have spared themselves many very violent operations, which in former times, they directed against several of those passages of scripture

that treat of this subject, if the discovery had been made at an earlier period that all those passages must be illustrated from Jewish views relative to sacrifice, from the shackles of which the apostles or first Christians could not at once free themselves. With the very same facility, all other positive doctrines of Christianity, which may be regarded as offensive, may and must be removed from the New Testament, as soon as a man allows himself, without further proof, to consider everything that shocks his prejudices as merely current opinion of the Jews. But does not every man's common sense and feeling teach him now, that the very levity and trifling of such a procedure afford the strongest ground for concluding, that, in cases of this kind, it is an indispensable duty to allege proof?

Here it must be particularly borne in mind, that it is by no means sufficient to be able to show, that certain representations found in the Bible, were views of the age in which the authors lived, or of the people among whom they had constant intercourse; it is necessary also to be able to prove their incorrectness, before a man should allow himself to find an accommodation in the passages in which they occur.

Will we, for example, represent the declarations of the apostles respecting the atoning efficacy of the death of Christ, as mere allusions to Jewish sacrificial views, which are therefore not to be understood literally? It is then incumbent on us, not only to show, that the Jews really had such sacrificial views, but also to prove that they are really puerile ideas, in which no truth lies at the bottom. Will we—to adduce another illustration—will we maintain, that from all those

places in which Christ and his apostles speak of demons, nothing at all can be inferred in favour of the real existence of such kind of spiritual beings, because, in such cases, they have merely spoken according to the conceit of their age? It is certainly then not enough to have shown, that a general belief in demons did then prevail, but it must also be shown that this belief of the age was a mere superstition, an erroneous, false, and groundless conceit of the people.

The cause which makes it proper and necessary to insist on this, is self-evident. An opinion is not always and necessarily erroneous because it is popular. Among the views prevalent in an age, and the stock of ideas circulating in a nation, there may be some intermingled that are true. Our Lord, therefore, and his apostles may have been governed by certain opinions of their time, not merely because they were opinions of their time, but because, according to their own convictions, the views which they afforded were true, correct, and well founded. Thus, he may have spoken so often of demons, not merely because the people believed in their existence, but because he believed in it himself; and therefore it is possible, that he has not, in this matter, accommodated to the popular ideas, and it must therefore be allowed to be possible, that by his declarations he has himself attested their existence, and that it was his intention to attest it.

Undoubtedly there may be cases in which the proof above spoken of may be dispensed with, because it would be unnecessary and superfluous to adduce it; (of such cases I shall speak further presently,) but in others again we can demand of the interpreter to bring

the proof from internal grounds. As it is often easy to foresee the impossibility of satisfying this demand, its severity is proportionably the more evident. Who will undertake to show, on internal grounds, that no being can exist of such a nature, as the Jews in the time of Christ and his apostles, formed in their mind under the name of angels and demons ; or that the future resurrection of the dead, which the Jews must have expected from their Messiah, and the apostles certainly did expect from Christ, can never take place ? Most undoubtedly, the fact, that the Jews believed the one and the other, involves no reason why we should also admit them. Nothing but the certainty that they had been instructed in them by a divine revelation can make them obligatory on us ; and hence it might appear to be sufficient, if, in relation to points of this kind, it were barely stated, that respecting them we are destitute of certainty. Yet, when the theologian, who intends to form a system, the parts of which are properly connected, insists upon this, that the testimony of our Lord and his apostles must sufficiently supply this want, or rather, give to us this certainty ; when he urges this consideration, that these views of the Jewish people, which it is freely granted no evidence either external or internal could otherwise make credible to us, have been established by the authority of Christ, and on this account alone must be admitted by us as true, since we are as little able on internal grounds to reject as to admit them ; what will the interpreter allege on the other hand ? He will not venture to say to him again, that Christ, by apparently establishing this idea of the people, has merely come

down to the prejudices of his age, for this is the very point which his opponent denies. And how can he oblige him to concede it, but by proving to him, that in such declarations of Christ an accommodation must necessarily be admitted, because the opinions apparently established by him are of such a kind, that it is impossible he could have really intended to establish them ; that is, in one word, by showing him, on internal grounds, the incorrectness of the opinions ?

Thus is it certain beyond all doubt, that, in some cases at least, an accommodation never can with perfect security be admitted, since it cannot be previously determined, that the representation, in reference to which the accommodation is to be applied, was both an opinion, really prevailing at the time, and also an erroneous opinion. But now it were easy to anticipate from this, how much the principle of accommodation, by this single demand, must lose of the dangerous character which at first view it would seem to possess. It may be confidently said, that there are not many cases in relation to which those necessary previous proofs can be brought with suitable point, unless a man will help, or rather deceive himself with mere conjectures. This last has, in fact, already been done among us often enough, since it has been regarded as the proper business of a newly invented **HIGHER CRITICISM**, to trace out, by the aid of the history and spirit of the age from which our sacred scriptures have come down to us, whatever may have been merely the common sentiments of the times. Yet, as it is easy to see, that this higher criticism, however good may be the intention of its advocates, but too often can

produce nothing better than conjectures, since so few historical monuments of that age remain ; so is it also easy to perceive, that from the nature of the subject mere conjecture can determine nothing in relation to it, or can only determine with an interpreter whose inclination to determine has already been formed. Only let the principle above stated be assumed and applied, and no one need apprehend, that the method of interpretation under review can easily be abused to the injury of religion.

III. Yet all the doubt, which would seem to attach to this point, is removed by subjecting it, *in the third place*, to a farther limitation, the reasonableness of which is also as evident to common sense as the preceding.

It may, indeed, be supposed, that our Lord and his apostles were sometimes influenced by the erroneous views of their age, but—this is the limitation—it must not be supposed any farther than is consistent with their character, their design, and also their views, either as declared by themselves, or otherwise known with certainty. It has already been stated, as one of the fundamental rules of hermeneutics, that, in the interpretation of every writing, constant reference must be had to the character and intention of the writer. The present limitation can therefore in reality add nothing more than this, that in no case should these rules be at all transgressed ; but the claim to this requisition is certainly as evident in the cases where an interpretation founded on accommodation, and one co-incident with the design or character of the writer appear to come into collision, as it is in all others.

But we must suppose, and we are justified in sup-

posing, that an intelligent teacher or writer will never come down to the erroneous views of the men for whom he is labouring, so far as to derogate from his character and oppose his design. As often therefore as it can be shown, that by an assertion or declaration he would have injured the one or the other, if he had been governed in making it by a condescending adaptation to error, it is necessary to maintain, that no accommodation, but a real declaration of his own convictions is to be found there.

With respect to this fundamental limitation itself, we shall not be required to contend with any one ; but, on the other hand, we must acknowledge, that it is not very easy to lay down general fixed principles, according to which it may always be infallibly determined, whether such an economical method of interpretation is consistent or not with the character and design of a writer. Probably indeed none can be given, which do not admit and require in particular cases some exceptions, limitations and modifications, arising from the character of the particular case. It is necessary, therefore, almost in every individual instance, to form a judgment for one's self: indeed, in some of those cases which relate to determining the *ἦθος*, or the agreement of an alleged accommodation with the character of the writer, the moral feeling of the interpreter will always claim an influence, which cannot be made uniform by any rules.<sup>a</sup> These difficulties apply,

<sup>a</sup> This is certainly one of the most important considerations in reference to the explanation of such moral and religious writings as those in the Bible, which can be addressed to the understanding and conscience of an interpreter. The highest

in a full degree, to our sacred writers, and even to the declarations of our Lord and his apostles; for the most natural rule to decide by, which is applicable to them, that which arises from their entirely peculiar character, cannot itself be actually applied half so easily as at first view might be supposed. This rule seems to result from the most natural supposition, that Christ and his apostles, at least in whatever

degree of moral purity, and the most extensive and truest views of divine truth which can now be attained, inasmuch as they bring the interpreter nearest to the enlightened and holy character of his author, place him in the best possible situation (*cæteris paribus,*) to understand him. He can then enter more deeply into the feeling and spirit of the sacred writer, especially in relation to religious affections and hopes, which belong in different degrees to different grades of the Christian life. The minister of the Gospel, who is to interpret the holy scriptures to the people, cannot have this principle too deeply imprinted on his mind. And, as a practical principle, it should exercise habitual influence on his moral and religious habits.

Indeed, on this same principle of correspondence of views with the writer to be explained, it may be added, that the more we enter into his feelings and associations, whether religious, literary or domestic, the more likely shall we be to seize on his real meaning. The reader who enters on the study of the prophecies relating to the Messiah, with a mind stored with the opinions of the ancient Hebrews, accustomed to the figures under which they represented those opinions, well versed in the language in which they expressed them, in the religious and political usages by which they illustrate them; to say all in one word, with the feelings and views of a pious and intelligent ancient Hebrew, so far as under present circumstances they can be gained, will no doubt be best fitted to understand and appreciate those sublime instructions.—*Tr.*

belonged to the religious instruction which they intended to impart to the world, never could accommodate to the views of their age, because this would have been in direct opposition to their design. But who does not feel, that closer and more accurate fixed principles are necessary, respecting what must belong to that religious instruction, and that a man must, above all things, be thoroughly satisfied with these principles, before he can with complete confidence apply the rules which are founded on them.

What has been said may serve to mark out the chief points at least, on the accurate determination and adjustment of which still depend the laws, by which hermeneutics must be governed in such conflicting cases, in fact, on which alone it can be governed with certainty.<sup>a</sup>

## CHAPTER V.

THE history of this branch of knowledge, and of the manner in which it has been treated from the earliest ages, may very well be comprised in a short compass. But this is not the case with its literature, which is exceedingly rich. Still, a preliminary sketch of its history, although short, will be of use in order to facilitate a choice among the principal literary works belonging to this department, which, in a treatise of this kind, it is necessary to give.

The history of hermeneutics may most suitably be divided into seven periods of time, which, although

of very unequal lengths, are yet distinguished by principles of interpretation peculiar to each, or at least by appropriate methods of exposition very observably varying from the others. The characteristic traits of these methods and of these principles, impress upon the exegetical works which we have of each of these periods, such marks of discrimination not to be misunderstood, that with regard to most of them, it is unnecessary to inquire after any other marks in order to ascertain the time to which they belong.

I. In the first two centuries it was hardly possible for the church to have any other principles of exposition than those which the early Christians had in part brought over with them from Judaism, and in part received from the Jews. Those Christians who were properly Jewish could have no other; and those who were converted to Christianity from Heathenism could not think of originating others for themselves, for as, along with the Christian religion they received the holy scriptures of the Jews, it was natural that they should consider it as incumbent on them to receive also the principles, according to which they had hitherto been explained by the Jews and their teachers. These principles are very well known. They amount to this: that although the words of scripture are to be explained according to the usage of language, yet frequently their grammatical sense is the least important, and that almost all that they contain is allegory, or type, or prophecy.

Many circumstances conspired to encourage the early fathers, who were possessed of some learning,

to adopt this extraordinary method of interpretation. They saw that even the apostle Paul, in some of his epistles, where he was obliged to contend with Jewish Christians, had availed himself of it, as, for instance, in that to the Galatians, and thus they considered themselves as sufficiently authorized, not attending to the peculiar circumstances in which the apostle was placed, and to the particular object which he had in view. They were themselves incompetent to discover a better method of interpretation, because the greatest part of them were altogether unacquainted with the Hebrew language. But what principally recommended this method to them was, that, in contending with the opponents of Christianity among the Jews, they were able to derive from it most important advantage for their opinions. By the aid which it afforded they were able to point out to the Jews, a multitude of prophecies in the Old Testament relating to Christ, the literal accomplishment of which could be shown without any trouble, to illustrate a multitude of types in it, the corresponding antitypes to which were to be found without difficulty in his history. It was therefore no wonder, that Justin Martyr, Irenæus, and Clement of Alexandria, were so much captivated by this mode of exposition, as not only not to observe how insecure, unsteady, and deceptive it is, but to find in it their chief advantages.<sup>a</sup>

II. But, in the commencement of the third century, a happier period for hermeneutics was introduced by Origen, not so much by giving his contemporaries rules for an improved interpretation, as by

exhibiting to them an example of improvement. It was, of course, impossible even for Origen at once to break loose from the old allegorizing method of interpretation. His acuteness and perspicacity pointed out to him in the Bible frequent allegories and types, which no man before him had discovered. He also sometimes intentionally availed himself of this allegorical method of interpretation, in order to oppose with the more effect certain crude opinions of his age, founded on an interpretation entirely literal ; as, for example, the gross representation of a resurrection of the flesh and an earthly reign of Christ during a thousand years, which in the second century was extensively prevalent.<sup>a</sup> Some of his pupils and admirers afterwards carried this point still further ; and hence it was, that, subsequently, when errors and heresies began to be discovered in the writings of this most extraordinary man, he was subjected to the reproach of having been the inventor, or at least the greatest promoter of the allegorizing system of interpretation.

But this reproach is in a high degree unmerited. If even Origen could not altogether free himself from the tendency of his age, yet it was this very man, who often enough and pointedly enough insisted, that interpretation should always be founded on the gram-

<sup>a</sup> The author refers to the opinions of the early millenariens that, preparatory to the earthly reign of Christ, there should be a resurrection of the bodies of the saints, with all their ordinary properties and propensities, fitting them for the enjoyment of corporeal delights. The reader may see proof of this opinion having been entertained in Whitby's "Treatise of the true Millennium," chap. i. § iv., at the end of his commentary on the New Testament, fol. London, 1727.—*Tr.*

matical sense of the words ; that in ascertaining this sense, the usage of language should always first be consulted ; and that, until this can afford no suitable meaning, entirely corresponding with the connection and views of the writer, or in unison with his declarations as elsewhere expressed, no allegorical, typical, or spiritual signification can properly be resorted to. He it was, who pointed out to his contemporaries the method of correcting the grammatical and historical sense of scripture with a typical and allegorical one ; a method, which undoubtedly was afterwards much abused. By these means he taught them most impressively that acquaintance with language and with history is necessary in every case in order to secure a correct interpretation, and by these means alone did he perform a service with regard to hermeneutics, which entitled him to the thanks of all succeeding ages.<sup>a</sup>

III. In the period immediately subsequent to that of Origen, the effects of his example became very

<sup>a</sup> See Ernesti's dissertation, *de Origine Interpretationis librorum sacrorum grammaticæ auctore*, in his *Opuscula philologica Critica*, 1776, pp. 288, ss. A translation of it may be found in Professor Hodge's *Biblical Repertory*, vol. iii. No. 2, pp. 245—260. Rosenmüller, in his *History of Interpretation* before referred to, thinks that Ernesti has been as liberal in his praises of Origen, as others have been in their censures. See Part iii. p. 22, 155. And yet Erasmus does not hesitate to say, “plus me docet Christianæ philosophiæ unica Origenis pagina, quam decem Augustini.” This, says Jortin, is “laudari a viro laudato.” See his remarks on *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii. p. 112. Lond. 1805. Some judicious scholars, however, have thought such praise extravagant.—*Tr.*

evident ; for in the fourth century interpretation assumed a form greatly improved. This state of things was chiefly owing to the fact, that now there were more interpreters, who had formed their taste by an acquaintance with the works of the old Greek and Roman authors, and they were not able entirely to keep out of view, the effect which the study of them produced on their mental character, however willingly they would often have done so, in commenting on the Bible. This was the case with Eusebius, Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Isidore of Pelusium, and Theodoret, among the Greek interpreters of the fourth and fifth centuries, and with Jerome, Augustin, Pelagius and Cassian among the Latins. It is true, that in these authors we do often enough meet with the allegorical and mystical expositions ; but it is at the same time impossible not to perceive, that they were influenced by a feeling, which always brought them back again to a more intelligent method of interpretation.

Many of them, as Chrysostom, Theodore and Augustin, felt also, that it was sometimes necessary to lay down, as the ground of grammatical interpretation, a particular usage of language belonging to the sacred writers ; they had even an indistinct impression that the particular spirit of the age of these writers must be regarded ; and they were not afraid in many cases to proceed upon the supposition, that by a judicious accommodation they had occasionally come down even to the erroneous views of their own time.

We not unfrequently find, therefore, in the exegetical works of these fathers, interpretations of the most excellent and striking character, and it is to be ascrib-

ed to two causes only that they are not to be found there in greater abundance. The one is, their very great want of acquaintance with the spirit of the old languages of the east, a defect, which must have a most injurious influence on their interpretations not only of the Old Testament, but also of the New. The other cause is to be found in the unhappy controversies, which were carried on during those periods, in such vexatious number, and with such scandalous warmth. In these cases, it became too much the practice, to allow themselves to modify their interpretation according to the convenience of their polemics ; that is to say, to explain the Bible in such a manner as was best adapted to advance the interest of the various opinions which they defended. Even the best and most acute writers among the fathers of those times, as Theodore of Mopsuestia, (for the polemic authors, Jerome and Augustin, are quite out of the question,) could not entirely guard against the fault of sometimes finding in the Bible merely what would serve to support their opinions, and of finding it there simply because they required it for that purpose : an evil, which in the following ages became still worse.

IV. It may be said with truth, that the whole period from the seventh to the sixteenth century was destitute of hermeneutics, merely for this reason, that it was by the polemics of the times completely subjected to the yoke of doctrinal divinity. The truths, which it was thought proper to find in the Bible, were now brought into a system, which the church by her authority and influence had frequently declared to be the only true one. No man therefore ventured to

find any thing further in the Bible, which was not adapted to this system, and still less any thing which stood in opposition to it.

In these circumstances, it might be considered the wisest course that could be adopted, to abandon all idea of originality, and be contented with collecting the interpretations of the ancient fathers, on which the church had impressed the stamp of orthodoxy ; and then it could not be long, until circumstances became such, as to make this abandonment absolutely necessary, because all ability and all helps for original interpretation were lost.

In the ninth century all knowledge of history and languages had almost entirely vanished. The barbarous Vulgate gradually became elevated to the importance of the only text, and the *glossa ordinaria* to the character of the only commentary on the Bible, which was used and allowed to be used in the church ; because these were the only text and commentary that could be used. And even in the use of the Vulgate, not only was no offence taken at the prodigious multitude of the grossest errors which had crept into it, but it was appealed to in argument and interpretation, with as much confidence, as could ever have been placed in the original text itself.

Neither did the scholastic age, which immediately followed this, introduce a more favourable change for hermeneutics : on the contrary, it is rather to be said, that its fate became thereby the more unfortunate. The scholastics, indeed, were a class of men, who at first gave themselves but little trouble on this point, for to them it was not a matter of much consequence,

whether they could prove their opinions from scripture or not, since they were persuaded that the truth of them could be demonstrated from the principles of their philosophy. However, towards the end of the twelfth century, some extraneous circumstances led them to pay more attention to the scriptures than they had formerly done, and consequently they were obliged to go farther into the subject of interpretation.

Hence there arose successively many sects, who wished to draw the Bible from that total oblivion into which it had sunk, and who were willing to find things in it quite different from what had hitherto been usually dictated to the people, and what they had been accustomed to hear. Beside these, since the time of saint Bernard, an important party had been formed in opposition to the new scholastic divines, which, although soon oppressed by them, were not completely put down, but continued to maintain an influence principally in the monasteries, and on many occasions withstood them with great earnestness, which produced a correspondent impression. These denominated themselves the party of the biblical divines. They assumed a degree of importance, as if they were the more tenacious of adhering to the scriptures, in proportion as the others seemed to disregard them. They were the principal agents in bringing back again the mystical method of interpretation, in order to make themselves conspicuous in some way, and by these means they frequently acquired a consideration, which threatened to be dangerous to the scholastics. These theologians, therefore, were themselves reduced to the necessity of

coming down to interpretation, which, at the same time, was subjected to the most lamentable treatment it had ever experienced.

Equally incompetent to discover as to apply the simple and natural principles of an intelligent hermeneutics, they returned to the allegorizing system, which they pursued with far more extravagance than it had ever been pursued by the Jews. Whatever the wildest imagination and the most unnatural force could press out of a word of scripture, was given as the genuine meaning, without the least regard to connection, design, character of the writer, and coherence of his ideas; and for the most part adopted the more willingly in proportion as it was senseless and irrational. But in truth they could not easily produce any other result, whenever they attempted to expound for themselves; since they had no knowledge of languages, no apprehension of a historical sense of scripture, and not the most distant idea of a spirit peculiar to the age in which the scriptures originated. Still, in fact, this injurious treatment did not affect the Scripture itself, but only the Vulgate; for it was only to this version that they were able to apply their efforts of interpretation, and therefore, the mischief was not so particularly great.

V. Yet, before Luther made his appearance, some minds of the higher order were desirous of putting a stop to this confusion, and therefore occasional examples occur of a method of interpretation, less offensive to sound understanding. But the influence of these persons was not greatly efficacious, until that impetuosity of character, by which this reformer was led to

the improvement of so many other things, was also directed to this subject, and broke through the obstacles that opposed him. After Erasmus and some other men of the same class, he and Melancthon were the restorers of hermeneutics ; and this effect was produced principally by again bringing forward the grammatical system of interpretation, by re-establishing the literal sense in its rights, by granting anew to the usage of language its paramount importance, and by not granting, or at least not seeking, either mystical or allegorical significations, whenever the other would afford a consistent sense, and one adapted to the views of the writer.

Thus the way to a rational interpretation was reopened. But it was necessary to set out entirely afresh, and therefore it became somewhat tedious, and the fatal impediment, which in the fourth century had arrested the progress of the understanding in pursuing this course, again but too soon presented itself. Luther was forced to form his new system of interpretation amidst noisy controversies ; he became forced thereto by the very controversies in which he was himself engaged ; and therefore it was natural enough that he should occasionally apply it in favour of them, although in other circumstances he would have regarded this as an abuse. This most excellent man did, in fact, very often direct his interpretation merely with a view to his polemics : but this was done by his immediate successors ; it was done by those divines, who, after his death, and that of Melancthon, constituted the ruling party in the Lutheran church, so much more frequently, that this may be given as the discri-

minating character of our hermeneutics, from the end of the sixteenth century to the beginnnig of our own.

Amidst the hottest internal controversies, the Lutheran system of doctrine was fully completed in the form of concord. This system necessarily possessed its own interpretation ; and as by the general union in one symbol wherein it was contained, the system itself became firmly established as unalterable, so also was of course that interpretation. Every *dictum probans* by which a point in the form of concord had been proved, or was thought to have been proved, must now always be so explained as to remain useful in reference to this proof ; otherwise the prevailing theology would immediately complain of a departure from the system of doctrine.

Along with this, however, it must be said, that the interpretation always proceeded on the correct principle, that the literal and grammatical sense must first be investigated, and that this must be determined by the usage of language. This was the point to which chief attention was always directed ; but this usage, instead of being derived from the sources which alone can afford it with any certainty, from other contemporaneous writers, from the spirit of the time or from the spirit of the kindred languages, from the characteristic formation of mind and mode of thinking of the different sacred writers themselves, and from comparing their works together, was derived merely from the uncertain, second hand source of doctrinal divinity. That is, all expressions were taken merely in the sense in which this privileged divinity had taken them ; this was presumed to be the only true sense, and then, as

was natural, the same sense was always found in every place which this system of divinity had found there.

The impropriety and mischief of this method could certainly be the less observed, while so little refined and accurate knowledge of languages was possessed, with only here and there obscure impressions of a historic sense; in truth, attachment to the doctrinal theology even prevented the exegetical from being able to strengthen those impressions, and from using all its efforts to advance such a nice and thorough knowledge. When, therefore, towards the middle of the last century, Cocceius, among the reformed divines, again attempted to find everywhere in the Bible allegories, types, tropes, and prophecies, many of our divines zealously opposed the novelty; but when almost at the same time, Grotius and some other men of refined taste and more enlarged views attempted, by penetrating more deeply into the spirit of the languages and history of the times of our sacred writers, to withdraw interpretation from the authority of doctrinal divinity, a violent outcry was raised against them, and for more than half a century laborious efforts were made to hinder the diffusion of the light, which these men had thus enkindled.<sup>a</sup>

VI. Hermeneutics experienced yet another change, which at one time gave it a new distinguishing feature, but which happily it did not long retain. With the commencement of our century, the newly rising

<sup>a</sup> The reader is requested to peruse, in connection with these remarks of the author, the latter part of note on p. 64.  
—Tr.

party, called pietists, began to devote themselves particularly to the interpretation of the Bible, because they considered it as necessary, and certainly not without reason, to revive a zeal for the study of it, which had become very greatly diminished. But, unhappily, this party brought rather too much enthusiasm and too little learning to this subject, and this would necessarily impart to their method of interpretation a peculiar character. This consisted in pressing each word of the text, until every idea, which by mere possibility it might contain according to its etymology, was forced out ; for, by this operation, the “*prægnantes sensus scripturæ*,” to use their own language, and the holy emphasis of its expressions, which had heretofore been neglected, could alone be received in all their fulness.

Had this been done according to a reasonable method, some real gain might perhaps have resulted ; but from that which was generally pursued, any advantage could, in the nature of things, but very seldom be obtained : and, in truth, the effect must often have been injurious. These expositors might have endeavoured, and sometimes with the hope of a very happy result, to determine the whole extent and the full emphasis of an idea involved in any word or turn of expression from the general or particular usage of language in the Bible, from which alone confident conclusions could be drawn. But, instead of this, they generally adhered merely to the etymological or grammatical connection, from which they deduced the strangest conclusions ; without reflecting, that, in a multitude of cases, the conventional, and the parti-

cular usage of the sacred writers, could not have been so accurately directed either by etymology or grammar.

If, for example, the apostles, by a Hebraism, had used, *ἐν* instead of *διὰ*, if they had written, “in the name of Jesus,” instead of, “through the name of Jesus;” a peculiar emphasis was supposed to lie in the particle *ἐν*, expressly intended by the apostle, because, if this were not the case, he could as well have employed the word *διὰ*. When St. Paul says of Christ that he is *ὑπερβού·ψωθεις*, (Phil. ii. 9,) the term must express much more than the idea of Christ’s exaltation in general, for otherwise the apostle would not have added force to the verb *ὑψω* by compounding it with the preposition *ὑπερ*. But that the first instance is nothing but a Hebraism, and that with respect to the other, it was a very common usage with the Greeks, to employ such compound words interchangeably with the simple, and in the very same sense with them, these sticklers for emphatic phraseology would by no means allow, because such a concession would completely demolish the whole foundation of their emphasis. This extravagant trifling could not long continue, and indeed it would scarcely have lasted to the middle of our own age, had it not been for a time assisted by the countenance of some men, who in other respects were very reasonable and deservedly esteemed, as, for instance, the pious and learned Bengel. Yet this system was the sooner dissipated, when some other divines of decided reputation, as Ernesti, announced themselves in opposition to it.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> See Note IX.

VII. Through the efforts of these men, and especially of the last named scholar, hermeneutics came in the end to the form in which it is at present; or rather, it received the principal characteristics of which it may now boast.

It may with propriety be said of it, that, in the present day, by means of a nicer and more fundamental knowledge of language, it can acquire much greater certainty respecting the grammatical sense of scripture, and by means of more enlarged literary investigations, can throw much clearer light on the historical sense than formerly; that, at the same time, it has laid aside the prejudice, which had previously restrained it from paying sufficient attention to the spirit of the age for which those writings were immediately intended; and that, in fine, it has seized and applied this same spirit in a degree far beyond what could possibly have been done in its earlier periods.

It may therefore be given as the distinguishing characteristic of the interpretation of our own time, that it proceeds on the principle that each sacred writer thinks and speaks according to the spirit of his age, and consequently must be explained according to that spirit.<sup>a</sup> This may also without hesitation be given as its chief advantage; although it cannot at the same time be denied, that this principle has been occasionally carried too far, and that consequently

<sup>a</sup> C. A. G. Keil: *de historica librorum sacrorum interpretatione ejusque necessitate*, Lips. 1788, 4to; translated into German by C. A. Wempel, Leipz. 1793, 8vo.—The reader is requested to keep in mind the limitations already laid down, in order to qualify the application of this principle.—*Tr.*

injurious effects have now and then resulted. Such effects are principally to be apprehended, from the facility with which it might so often be erroneously assumed, that the sacred writers, in many of their declarations, in which the older theology found positive doctrines have been governed merely by views of their own age.<sup>a</sup> It may also be a more unfavourable circumstance, that no settled principles have yet been agreed on, whereby to define the bounds of this accommodating method of interpretation, although the subject had been warmly discussed for twenty years, when Semler gave new life to the excitement in relation to the scriptural doctrine respecting demons, and began by his “œconomicum dicendi genus” to explain it away. But notwithstanding this, we may probably anticipate more benefit hereafter, than we need fear disadvantage. It was not altogether unnatural that interpretation, in the first joy that it experienced in being freed from the fetters of doctrinal divinity which it had so long carried, should, with the feelings which this must excite, have gone somewhat further than necessity or propriety justified; but, for this very reason, it may be hoped with the more probability, that in time it will of itself become right; and then even doctrinal divinity will undoubtedly derive the greatest advantages.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> If the author had lived to the present time, he would have seen his anticipations realized. Indeed the extravagant and licentious wildness of some among the late German commentators, is far beyond what he could with any reason have expected.—*Tr.*

<sup>b</sup> The concluding remarks of this chapter on the influence

## CHAPTER VI.

AFTER this brief history of interpretation, which gives a view of the most remarkable changes it has undergone, I proceed to make a statement of the most useful works in this department, and which in each of the periods noticed have been principally used. To express an opinion respecting the particular character of these works, and to estimate their relative value, must be unnecessary; for a mere statement of the periods to which they belong, or from which they have originated, is, in some degree, sufficient for this purpose.

The works themselves must be divided into two classes, to the former of which are to be appropriated those which contain proper directions relating to hermeneutics, which develop and exhibit the rules and principles of a correct method of interpretation, or in which they are individually and particularly marked out and illustrated, in their application to all the books of our sacred scriptures, or only to a limited number.

The second class will comprise the most remarkable and useful of those writings, in which these principles are actually applied to the interpretation either of the whole Bible, or of particular books; in other words, our principal commentaries, expositions, para-

which the principles of Kant's philosophy might have in producing mystical and allegorical interpretations, are omitted.  
—Tr.

phrases, &c., of every age, on the Old and New Testaments.

I. With respect to the first class of these literary productions, no man will expect to find, in the early and middle ages, any work in which hermeneutics is reduced to the form of a distinct branch of knowledge, and the theory of it drawn out in what may be called a philosophical manner. Of the period of the Fathers, properly so termed, there are scarcely two works of this kind, which can with propriety be here introduced, and of the following, not a single one.

In the four books of Augustin "de doctrina Christiana," we not only find some scattered observations, which look like directions for a correct interpretation of scripture, but, in lib. iii. cap. 30, he has introduced the seven rules, so called, for investigating and ascertaining the sense of scripture, "regulæ ad investigandum et inveniendum scripturarum intelligentiam," which are the production of a contemporaneous writer of the name of Ticonius, of whom we have no further knowledge. These rules do not exhibit much penetration, although they show the author to have possessed extraordinary ingenuity.

Another work belonging to this period, which has equal claims to notice in this review, is a composition under the title, *Eισάγωγή εἰς τὰς θείας γραφάς*, "Introduction to Sacred Scripture," by a writer of the name of Adrian, who was probably contemporaneous with Augustin, although the age in which he lived cannot be accurately determined.<sup>a</sup> But there is no reason to

<sup>a</sup> This Introduction, with some other writings of the same kind, was published in Greek by David Hoeschell, at Augs-

place, as is usually done, among the list of writers on theoretical hermeneutics, Eucherius, bishop of Lyons, in Gaul in the fifth century, on account of his *Instructio ad filium Salonium*, “ Instruction addressed to his son Salonius,” which has come down to us in two books; for this “ Instruction” does not contain, properly speaking, any directions for the interpretation of scripture. The first book merely illustrates some difficult passages, and the second explains the Hebrew names which occur in the Bible.

From this time we find, in the literary history of hermeneutics, a space of one thousand years, which presents nothing but a mere blank; for not until the latter half of the sixteenth century do we meet with any true and scientific directions for correct interpretation; and, in fact, the work which contains them may, without hesitation, be regarded as the first of this class. The book referred to is, *Clavis Scripturæ Sacræ*, the “ Key to the Sacred Scripture,” of the celebrated Matthias Flacius, which came out originally at Basle, in folio, in the year 1567.<sup>a</sup> The first part of which this *Clavis* consists, may be called a biblical lexicon, for most of the words and phrases in scripture are explained in it in alphabetical order. But the second is actually and strictly a treatise on hermeneutics, and one alike honourable to the acuteness of Flacius, and to his learning. This is very willingly

burg, in 1602, 4to. It has also been introduced in the *Critici Sacri*, tom. viii. of the London edition—*Tr.*

<sup>a</sup> Among the old editions of the *Clavis*, the principal is that which was published at Jena in 1675, fol. with a preface by John Musæus—*Tr.*

acknowledged, even by our recent exegetical writers, notwithstanding all the imperfections of the work, and is confessed by Simon himself; and the truth of it is more particularly evident, upon a comparison of this first work with the greater part of those, which, in the next century, were composed in imitation of it, by many divines of our church.

Among these, the following may probably be regarded as worthy of particular notice :—

Wolfgang Franz: *Tractatus theologicus novus et perspicuus de interpretatione sacrarum literarum maxime legitima.* Wittenbergæ, 1619, (5th edition, 1708,) 8vo.

John Conrad Danhauer: *Hermeneutica sacra—seu methodus exponendarum sacrarum literarum,* Argentor. 1754, 8vo.

Augustin Pfeiffer: *Hermeneutica sacra, sive tractatio luculenta de interpretatione sacrarum literarum.* Dresdæ, 1684; an enlarged edition, with a preface by Benedict Carpzov. entitled: *Thesaurus hermeneuticus, &c.* Lips. 1690, 4to.

Many of our divines, as Glassius, Gerhard, Olearius, and others, in the more comprehensive works which they composed, introduced whatever branches of literature belonged to exegesis, and particularly those relating to the theory of hermeneutics; yet, in general, they merely made the Clavis of Flacius their ground-work, or raised upon it those principles only which had already been developed in this work, while they were not always able to seize and express them with that nice precision which Flacius had given to them. Notwithstanding, there are in most of their

works excellent precepts for grammatical interpretation ; for the error of the hermeneutics of this period lay only in this, that the historical sense was too much neglected, and the grammatical interpretation depended on assistance which was too insecure.

The characteristic marks by which interpretation, from the beginning of the present century, was for some time distinguished, in consequence of the pietistical controversies, are particularly conspicuous in the following works, in which its character was, in part, originally formed.

Herman Augustin Francke : *Prelectiones hermeneuticæ—ad viam dextre indagandi et exponendi sensum scripturæ sacræ.* Halæ, 1723, 8vo.

Joachim Langius : *Hermeneutica sacra.* Halæ, 1733, 8vo.

John James Rambach : *Institutiones hermeneuticæ sacræ, variis observationibus, copiosissimisque exemplis biblicis illustratæ—cum prefat.* J. Franc. Budæi. Jenæ, 1723, 8vo.

These institutions of Rambach soon became the principal work and manual of hermeneutics, and therefore were not only very often reprinted, but also illustrated by many divines with particular commentaries. Thus, for instance, Ernest Frederic Neubauer published, at Giessen, in 1738, extensive and profound illustrations of Rambach's "Institutiones," and Andrew Reiersen, at Copenhagen, 1741, *Tabulæ synopticæ in institutiones Rambachii, "Synoptical view"* of the same work.

Among these works, others also made their appearance, some of which were expressly intended to op-

pose the principles of interpretation peculiar to the pietists; and others contained generally the theory of hermeneutics more completely formed. To the former of these classes belong:—

Valentine Ernst Löscher: *Breviarium Theologiæ exegeticæ, legitimam scripturæ sacræ interpretationem tradens.* Wittenberg. 1719, 8vo.

Martin Chladenius: *Institutiones exegeticæ.* Wittenberg. 1725, 8vo.

Of the others, the following is particularly conspicuous:—

Solomon Deyling: *De scripturæ recte interpretandæ ratione et fatis.* Lips. 1721; and yet more so, the work of a reformed divine—

John Alphonso Turretin: *De S. Scripturæ interpretandæ methodo tractatus bipartitus—Trajecti Thuniorum, (that is Dort,) 1728.* A new and enlarged edition, by Teller, counsellor of the superior consistory, was published at Frankfort on the Oder, in 1776, 8vo.

The following works, however, were those which gradually prepared the way for the free hermeneutics of our own time, and which principally promoted its more general introduction and application:

Sigismund James Baumgarten: *Unterricht von Auslegung der heiligen Schrift, “Instructions on the interpretation of the Sacred Scripture.”* Halle, 1742, 8vo.

The same author's *Ausführlicher Vortrag über die hermeneutik, “Complete view of hermeneutics,”* Halle, 1769, 4to.

John Solomon Semler: *Vorbereitung zur theolo-*

gischen hermeneutik, Th. iii. "Preparation for theological hermeneutics, in three parts," Halle, 1759—1768, 8vo.

The same author's *Apparatus ad liberalem Novi Testamenti interpretationem*, Halæ, 1767, 8vo., and *Apparatus ad liberalem Veteris Testamenti interpretationem*, ib. 1773, 8vo.

And as the most distinguished work in reference to this result: John Augustin Ernesti: *Institutio interpretis Novi Testamenti*. Ed. quar. cura Christoph. Frid. Ammon. Lips. 1792, 8vo.<sup>a</sup>

In addition to what has been said, it is necessary to remark, that the proper epoch, in which our hermeneutics began perfectly to avail itself of the full liberty which characterises it, is to be placed in the years 1771—1775. In this period, Semler, on the one side, in his controversies respecting the scriptural doctrine of demons, and, on the other, Teller, in his lexicon of the New Testament, applied the principle, that the Bible should be interpreted in the spirit of its age, in a manner quite novel, which gave a new form to our interpretation. It is sufficiently certain, that the principle, in itself, and also even as extended to the accommodating system of interpretation, which it was applied to justify, was not then originally invented. It was even known and made use of by some of the older Greek fathers.<sup>b</sup> The Socinians had occasionally employed it with great freedom, and Grotius with

<sup>a</sup> See Note X.

<sup>b</sup> See M. Frederic Augustin Carus—*Historia antiquior sententiarum ecclesiæ Græcæ de accommodatione Christo imprimitis et apostolis tributa*. Lips. 1793, 4to.—Tr.

great success. But even on this very account it had, until this time, been strongly opposed in our church; and, in the year 1729, it was warmly attacked by Rambach, in his *Dissertatio contra hypothesis de Scripturæ Sacræ ad erroneous vulgi conceptus*, "A Dissertation against the hypothesis of accommodating scripture to commonly received erroneous conceptions."

Hence it was that the application which the divines already named, and many others that followed them, made of it, did not pass without opposition. Those of Tübingen, particularly, declared themselves very earnestly against the new accommodating system of hermeneutics. A dissertation by the Chancellor Reuss, *De œconomia qua Christus in docendo usus fuisse dicitur*, Tubing. 1773, 4to, "On the economical method which Christ is said to have employed in teaching," and another by Dr. Storr, *De sensu historico Scripturæ Sacræ*, Tüb. 1782, "On the historical sense of Scripture," <sup>a</sup> contains many admonitions against the application of this method too extensively and without sufficient scrupulousness, which do undoubtedly deserve to be very attentively considered. Another more modern production, which appeared in 1788, 8vo, under the title, *Bemerkungen über die Lehrart Jesu in Rücksicht auf jüdische Sprache und Denkungsart*, "Remarks on our Lord's method of teaching, in reference to the language and mode of thinking of the Jews, by C. Vict. Hauff, Offenbach on the Maine,"

<sup>a</sup> This most valuable treatise may be found in Storr's *Opuscula Academica*, vol. i. pp. 1—88. It was translated into English by J. W. G. (Professor Gibbs, now of Yale College,) and published at Boston in 1817, in 12mo.—*Tr.*

has the avowed design of limiting the abuse of this method; and to the same point has the author of another work, still more recent, directed his attention: *Ueber die Lehrart Jesu und seiner Apostel, in wiefern sich dieselben nach den damals herrschenden Volksmeinungen gerichtet haben*, “On the method of teaching pursued by Christ and his apostles; how far they have been governed by the prevailing opinions of the people,” by Frederic Behn, Lubeck, 1791, 8vo. We have, indeed, reasons enough for wishing this principle to be limited within certain bounds; but unless time, or some new direction which the spirit of our theological investigation may perhaps receive from a collision with the critical philosophy, should be able to effect more than has been effected by the attempts thus far made at limitation, there does not really seem to be much ground soon to hope for it. The most probable reason for such an expectation may still be found in the circumstance, that this new exegesis cannot be carried much farther than it has already been extended.

II. The second class of hermeneutical works, which must here be introduced, comprehends those in which the theoretical principles of interpretation are really applied to the explanation of the whole Bible, or to some of its separate books. Here, however, a selection becomes the more necessary, in consequence of their immense number; and for this reason, from among each of the various classes into which they again divide themselves, a few only will be given, except, indeed, with respect to the latest and most useful productions.

It will not, therefore, be thought necessary to mention all those Fathers, who have laboured, in their own particular way, to explain the Scriptures in separate works—in commentaries, or what are called paraphrases. Their exegetical works are also always to be found in the collections of their writings, which are, for the most part, sufficiently known; and some of those works, in which their interpretations in particular are collected, have been before cited under the name of *catenæ patrum*. <sup>a</sup>

Among the hermeneutical works of the following

<sup>a</sup> With respect to the characteristics, and the different spirit, estimate, and value of interpretations of the Fathers in general, or only some particular Fathers, decisions, but exceedingly various in their nature, may be found in all larger works on the doctrine of the Fathers. We have a work particularly on this subject by Whitby; *De sacrarum scripturarum interpretatione secundum patrum commentarios*. London, 1714. On the mystical method of interpreting, John Christian Coester has written; *Dissertatio de mysticarum interpretationum studio ab Ægyptiis maxime patribus repetendo*, Halæ, 1760; and on that of Origen, John Augustin Ernesti; *De Origene, interpretationis grammaticæ auctore*, &c.

On the interpretation of many of the Fathers, a course of historical treatises, *De fatis interpretationis sacrarum literarum in ecclesia Christiana*, has been published by Dr. Rosenmüller at Leipzig, at different times ending in 1794, in ix. programs.

[These programs were afterwards altered and enlarged by their author, and gave rise to his *Historia Interpretationis*, the work referred to in Note 8. His assertions respecting the character of the interpretation of the first century, and of the first half of the second, except as applied to the epistle ascribed to Barnabas the Apostle, are certainly unfounded.—*Tr.*]

and of more modern ages, it is proper to mention those, in the first place, which comprehend the whole Bible, accompanying the text throughout with explanatory observations. Some of this class are best known under the name of *glossed Bibles*. The principal work of this kind, in the Roman Catholic church, is the Bible, with what is called the *glossa ordinaria*, which was compiled as early as the ninth century by Walafrid Strabo, and soon acquired so much consideration, that it was quoted by the scholastics under the name of “*auctoritas*.” It was originally a *catena* of the interpretations of many of the Fathers; but it received from time to time considerable accessions, and in the more modern editions new matter was almost always added. One of the most complete, and, even now, most in use in the Roman church, appeared in the last century under the title, *Biblia Sacra, cum glossa ordinaria, novis Patrum Græcorum et Latinorum explicationibus locupletatæ cum postilla Nicol. Lirani—a Leandro a S. Martino. T. vi. Antwerp. 1634, fol.*

Among the commentators of the fifteenth century, there is one who deserves to be particularly mentioned, as he is distinguished in a very superior manner.

This is Alphonso Tostatus, bishop of Avila in Spain. His works were collected and published at Cologne, in 1612, in twenty-seven folios, of which his commentaries on the whole Bible alone occupy the first twenty-four.

Among the works of this class, which were composed after the reformation by divines of our church,—in other words, among the German *glossed Bibles*,

of which Luther's translation was the text,—the following formerly stood in highest repute:

The Bible, which bore the names of Weimar, Ernest, or, from the place in which it was printed, Nuremberg, with the title, *Biblia Sacra—verdeutscht von Dr. Luther, und auf Verordnung Hezzog Ernest zu Sachsen von etlichen reinen Theologen erklaert—erste Ausg. 1640*;—neuste mit Ernst Sal. Cyprians Vorrede—Nürnberg, 1736, fol. “*Biblia Sacra, translated into German by Dr. Luther, and illustrated by some sound divines, at the command of Ernest, duke of Saxony. First edition, 1640—last, with a preface by Ernest Solomon Cyprian, Nuremberg, 1736, fol.*”

The work of Pfaff on the Bible, Tübingen, 1729; and to this may be added a more modern publication of the same class, namely, *Die heilige Schrift mit Anmerkungen*; “*The Holy Scripture, with annotations, by Dr. John Godfrey Koerner, in three parts,*” Leipzig, 1770—1773, 4to.

Different from these, although belonging to the same class, are several other works, in some of which likewise the continuous text of the whole Bible, and in others that of the Old or New Testament in particular, is explained by observations annexed, but in which a new translation is also made the groundwork.

Among the more recent of this kind, the principal place is due to the celebrated Wertheim translation of the Bible, by John Lawrence Schmid, on account of the excitement it produced at the time of its publication, and also on account of the surprise which this must now occasion us. But as emperor and empire

were both wrought into a state of ferment against this translator and his work, only the first part of it made its appearance, under the title, *Die Göttlichen Schriften vor den Zeiten des Messias, durch und durch mit Anmerkungen erlæutert*; “The Divine Writings before the time of the Messias, illustrated throughout with notes,” Werth. 1736, 4to.

Entire, and undoubtedly far more beneficial as respects genuine acquaintance with Scripture, is the translation of the Old Testament, with notes, by John David Michaelis, which appeared at Göttingen, in thirteen parts, 1769-83, 4to.; and the same author’s translation of the New Testament, Göttingen, in three parts, 1789-92, 4to.;—Uebersetzung des Alten Testaments, and Uebersetzung des Neuen Testaments.

To these works must be added, Uebersetzung und erlæuterung der heiligen Bücher Neuen Testaments; “Translation and exposition of the sacred books of the New Testament,” by Dr. John Henry Moldenhauer, 4 vols. in 4to., Leipzig, 1763-70, and of the Old Testament, 6 vols. in 4to. Quedlinburg, 1774—78.

Of the modern German translations of the New Testament in particular, only those two which are most dissimilar need be mentioned; namely, John Albert Bengel’s, printed at Stuttgart, 1764, 8vo, and the famous one of Bahrdt, with the title, *Neueste Offenbarungen Gottes in Briefen und Erzaehlungen*;—“Last Revelations of God, in epistles and narrations,” in four parts. Riga, 1773, 8vo.

A second class of works, belonging to this depart-

ment, is formed of the commentaries, which are extant. Some of them extend over the whole Bible; some are limited to the Old, or to the New Testament in particular; and some again are confined to certain books of the one or the other.

The commentaries that we have of Luther on almost all the books of the Bible, deserve the first place; but it is unnecessary to mention them here, because they are both generally known and appreciated. But, next to his works, no expositions were formerly more highly esteemed in our church than those of John Brentz, the celebrated Wurtemberg divine, which likewise extend almost over the whole Bible, and fill seven of the eight folio volumes, of which the collection of his works consists.

The principal divines of the reformed church, also, Zwingle, Oecolampadius, Martin Bucer, Conrad Pelican, made the interpretation of the Bible, a chief object of their learned and industrious efforts to advance the general good, and thereby acquired as much reputation for a purer religious knowledge as those of our own. Yet all their labours in this department must unquestionably yield to those of John Calvin, who, in his commentaries on all the books of the Bible with the exception of the Apocalypse, displayed a learning, an acuteness, and a spirit, which distinguished him from all his contemporaries, and allowed him to contend with Melancthon himself for the highest place.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> It must be exceedingly gratifying to a candid mind to hear a Lutheran divine bear such full and unequivocal testimony in favour of Calvin. With all the faults of this cele-

His commentaries, also, fill almost the first seven volumes of his works, the collection of which was published at Amsterdam, from the year 1667, in nine folios.

Of the last century, it is not necessary to mention more than the principal work of this kind, namely, that of Grotius: *Annotationes in Vetus et Novum Testamentum*; for it must at that time have been regarded as a principal work, since Abraham Calovius thought it necessary to compose in opposition to him his *Biblia illustrata*, in four folios. Frankfort, 1672-76. Notwithstanding all the learning which this work of Calovius contains, and to which even Richard Simon himself does justice,<sup>a</sup> it is now almost forgotten, while the annotations of Grotius, which had only been introduced in the collection of his works, have been considered, even in our own day, by some of our most esteemed theologians, as worthy of a particular edition. They have been published by George Louis Vogel, and John Christopher Doederlein, en-

brated reformer, (and “ who can understand his own ? ”) he must be allowed to have been a man of extraordinary industry and intellect. A divine of the church of England, who, on comparison, will not be found inferior in profoundness of thought, and elevation of character, to the greatest and best of any age or country, speaks of him as “ incomparably the wisest man that ever the French church did enjoy, since the hour it enjoyed him.” Hooker’s Preface to his Ecclesiastical Polity, § 2, beginning. A new and cheap edition of Calvin’s Commentary on St. Paul’s epistles, including the Hebrews, was published in three neat and closely printed octavo volumes at Halle in 1831, by Professor Tholuck.—*Tr.*

<sup>a</sup> See his *Histoire crit. des Commentateurs*, chap. xviii.

larged with their own additions, at Halle, 1775—76, in three vols. in 4to.

The following great works of the last century and of our own, are prominent on account of their containing collections of the expositions of various interpreters, which, however, must unavoidably produce a strange mixture of good and bad.

The work, entitled : *Critici sacri, or Anglicani.* It came out originally at London, in 1660, in nine folio volumes,<sup>a</sup> afterwards at Frankfort, in 1697, in seven folios, and at the same time at Amsterdam, with some additions, which were separately printed in 1700, 1701, by the publishers of the Frankfort impression, in two supplementary volumes.

An epitome of this great compilation, published by Matthew Poole, who was also an English divine, with the title : *Synopsis criticorum aliorumque scripturæ sacræ interpretum et commentatorum, Tom. v.* London. This work contains even a greater treasure of scriptural illustration than the former, because the author drew from more numerous sources than his predecessors. It was reprinted as early as 1679, at Frankfort and Utrecht, and in 1712, at Frankfort, a second time, with a preface by John George Pritius, in the same number of volumes.

To the same class of publications belongs a later work of this kind in German, and undertaken by German theologians, namely : “ the holy scriptures of the

<sup>a</sup> The English scholars, who united in the compilation of this work, were John Pearson, Anthony Scattergood, Francis Gouldman, and Richard Pearson.

Old and New Testaments, together with a complete illustration of them, being a compilation of the choicest remarks of English writers, and enlarged with many additions of German divines, Baumgarten, Dietelmaier, Doederlein, Brucker, and others. In nineteen volumes, 4to. Leipzig, 1749—1770.

Among the exegetical works, in which the Old Testament in particular was illustrated, there is scarcely one, if we except the late work of Michaelis, which can be compared to the Commentary of the learned John Le Clerc, or Clericus.<sup>a</sup> Altogether, it consists of five volumes, folio, the first of which was published in 1693.

But, on the scriptures of the Old Testament, there has not been such frequent labour bestowed, at least not on them as a whole, as on those of the New, which from the earliest periods have occupied the industrious attention of many learned men.

A very happy illustration of this industry is presented in the paraphrases of Erasmus on the New Testament, which were published in parts from the year 1517, and in the edition of his works by Le Clerc, Leyden, 1703—1706, ten vols. folio, are collected in the seventh volume.

Soon after Erasmus, and, in part contemporaneous with him, James Faber published his commentaries on the four Gospels, on the epistles of St. Paul, and on the Catholic epistles, which appeared at Metz, Paris, and Basle, from 1522 to 1527, in fol.

The remarks, by which Theodore Beza had illus-

<sup>a</sup> App. Note XI.

trated the text in several of his editions of the New Testament, were collected together by Erasmus Schmid, in his posthumous work, containing a version of the New Testament, with notes and observations. Nuremb. 1658, fol.

Very valuable, also, are the paraphrases on the whole of the New Testament, which Moses Amyrault published at Saumur, in eight volumes, from 1644 to 1651.

The French translation of the New Testament, with remarks by John Le Clerc, appeared at Amsterdam, 1703, two vols. 4to.;—another French translation, with explanations by Beausobre and Lenfant, at Amsterdam, 1741, two vols. 4to.;—and the celebrated New Testament, with moral reflections by Father Pasquier Quesnel, which produced so much excitement in the Roman church, was published originally, in 1687, at Paris; and afterwards, much enlarged, at Brussels, in 1702, in eight vols. 8vo.

Of the English works of this kind, it will be sufficient to mention three.

The New Testament, with annotations, by Henry Hammond, D.D. It was translated from English into Latin by Le Clerc, and published at Frankfort, in 1714, in two vols. fol.

A paraphrase and commentary on the New Testament, by Daniel Whitby, D.D. London, 1727, two vols. fol.

A paraphrastic interpretation of the New Testament, with critical notes, by Philip Doddridge, D.D. London, 1738—1747, three volumes in 4to.<sup>a</sup> It was

<sup>a</sup> It is entitled, “The Family Expositor,” &c. The seventh

translated into German, and published, in four volumes 4to., at Magdeburg, 1750.

Of the commentaries on the New Testament which have been written by our own divines, a much more extensive list might be made, and it is consequently the more necessary to limit it to some of the more modern.

A mass of learning is contained in John Christopher Wolf's *Curæ philologicæ et criticæ in Nov. Test.* in four volumes, 4to., Hamb. 1738-41.<sup>a</sup>

Almost as much learning, but less acuteness, may be found in Christopher Augustin Heumann's exposition of the New Testament, in twelve parts, Hanov. 1750-1763, 8vo.

An excellent work, although less learned, is John Albert Bengel's *Gnomon Novi Testamenti.* Ed. tert. Tubingæ, 1773, 4to. An abridged translation made its appearance under the title, *Das Neue Testament mit eingeschalteten Erklaerungen als ein Auszug der Arbeiten des seligen Bengels*—“The New Testament, accompanied by explanatory remarks, an epitome of the works of the late Bengel,” by David Christian Michaelis, Lips. 1769, 4to.

Of the same kind as this last work is, *Das Neue Testament mit einem genauen Inhalt, Sinn, Zusam-*

*edition, with a life of the author, by Andrew Kippis, D.D. was published at London, 1792, in six volumes, 8vo. ; and, lately, an edition has appeared in one very large octavo volume, 1825. The critical notes are valuable for their learning and good sense ; the paraphrase rather enfeebles the text ; the practical improvement is excellent.—Tr.*

<sup>a</sup> It was also published in five volumes 4to. at Basle, 1741.—Tr.

menhang und Ammerkungen versehen,—“ The New Testament, with an accurate view of the contents, sense, connexion, with notes,” by John David Nicolai, in two parts. Bremen, 1775.

Of a different character, and intended for the really learned interpreter, is the following work :—*Novum Testamentum Græcum perpetua adnotatione illustratum*, a Joh. Benj. Koppe. Gottengæ, tom. i. iv. 1778, 1783, 8vo. Upon the death of the author, this work was interrupted, and it has not yet been completed by the learned men, who since that event have published some volumes. The young interpreter, who is entering upon the subject, will find a very useful substitute, in a work intended for him, by John George Rosenmüller: *Scholia in Nov. Test. tom. i.—iv.* Norimberg, 1777-83, 8vo. <sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> This is the same Rosenmüller who wrote the “ History of Interpretation,” before mentioned in Note 8, and the student, who consults his work, should keep in view the principles of the author as there intimated. For a fuller account of Koppe’s publication, see Horne, vol. ii. App. pp. 278-9. Heinrichs, a very prominent commentator in that work, is to be read with caution, especially on the Hebrews. In 1827, Dr. S. T. Bloomfield published his *Recensio Synoptica*, or critical digest and synoptical arrangement of the most important annotations on the New Testament, &c. London, eight vols. 8vo. Mr Horne, vol. ii. App. pp. 283-4, gives a particular account of this most laborious work. The same learned author published last year a new edition of “ the Greek Testament, with English notes, critical, philological, and exegetical, in two vols. 8vo.” It is beautifully printed, at Cambridge. The text, which is “ formed on the basis of the last edition of R. Stephens, adopted by Mill,” without “ deviation, except on the most preponderating evidence,” (Preface, p. x.) occupies the

Lastly, some of those hermeneutical works must not be passed over unnoticed, which illustrate and explain separate books of scripture. In fact, this class of compositions justifies the highest degree of expectation ; for it is to be presumed, that the industry of an interpreter, who confined himself to one particular book, will have produced greater results, than the industry of another, whose attention was divided among several. And, in truth, this is the case with many of these works. But, since the number of such interpretations is considerable, it becomes the more difficult to make a selection, as only two or three of the most valuable or recent on each particular book shall be introduced.

The interpretation of Genesis has, in our own times, been very greatly facilitated by means of a work entitled, *Conjectures sur les memoires originaux, dont il paroit, que Moyse s'est servi pour composer le livre de la Genese,—par Jean Astruc.* Bruxelles, 1753, 8vo.<sup>a</sup> But all which, partly since and partly before

upper part of the page, and the notes, in two columns, the lower. This is probably the most useful single publication that the student of the New Testament can procure. The indefatigable author has accumulated a mass of valuable information, of which his work contains more than any other similar one of its size. From the brevity of its plan, the young interpreter may occasionally find somewhat of obscurity. To avoid this in all cases, when so much matter is condensed, is perhaps impossible ; it would certainly be unreasonable to expect it—*Tr.*

<sup>a</sup> This refers to the theory, that Moses composed the book of Genesis from previously existing documents, some of which were probably written by the earlier patriarchs. For an account of this theory, the reader is referred to Jahn's Intro-

that time, has been done and attempted correctly to settle the interpretation of that book, is now brought together in J. G. Eichhorn's *Urgeschichte*—“ Primitive History :” an edition of which has been published, with an introduction and remarks, by Dr. John Philip Gabler, in two parts, 1791-93, 8vo.<sup>a</sup>

On the other books of Moses, so far as relates to the history of the formation of the Israelitish commonwealth, and the code of laws which they contain, the work of Michaelis on the Mosaic law is undoubtedly the best commentary.<sup>b</sup>

In the beginning of the last century, Nicolas Serararius published, at Mayence, a commentary on most of the other historical books of the Old Testament, which, in the judgment even of Simon,

duction, Part ii. § 16, with the notes. The Rev. George Bush, assistant Professor of Hebrew and Oriental literature in the New York university, has published, in three volumes, 12mo., a work which may be read with much profit. It is entitled, *Questions on Genesis, Exodus, and Leviticus, with notes—Tr.*

<sup>a</sup> As this work contains some interpretations exceedingly forced, and explains allegorically most of the history in the first three chapters of Genesis, the reader who examines it would do well to read in connexion with it a *Dissertation on the Fall of Man*, by the Rev. George Holden, M.A. London, 1823.—*Tr.*

<sup>b</sup> This work, written originally in German, was translated into English by Alexander Smith, D.D., and published at London, in 1814, in four volumes, 8vo. See Horne, vol. ii. App. pp. 353-4., who suggests, that it should be “ consulted with great caution,” as it partakes of the character of many modern German publications. Michaelis is undoubtedly very prone to indulge in conjectural criticism—*Tr.*

is equally distinguished for its learning and acuteness.<sup>a</sup>

We have an exposition of the *Hagiographa* in the work of John Henry Michaelis: *Adnotationes uberiiores philologico-exegeticæ in libros Hagiographos Vet. Test. tom. iii.* Halæ, 1645-1751, 4to.<sup>b</sup>

In works of this class, the Psalms in particular are most frequently explained; but the most recent work is that of Dr. George Christ. Knapp, who published a translation of them, with remarks, at Halle, 1778-82, 8vo:— *Die Psalmen—überstetzt und mit Anmerkungen.*

On *Job*, the principal work is that of Albert Schultens, entitled, *Liber Jobi, cum nova versione et perpetuo commentario.* Lugd. Bat. tom. ii. 4to. 1737. A new edition of this work, somewhat abridged, was published by George Louis Vogel, at Halle, in two vols. 8vo. in 1773-4.

The same author's book on the *Proverbs* must take precedence of all others: *Proverbia Salomonis, cum*

<sup>a</sup> His commentary on the books of *Joshua*, *Judges*, *Ruth*, *Kings*, and *Chronicles*, first came out at Mayence, in part after his death, in the years 1609, 1610, 1617, fol.

<sup>b</sup> These notes on the *Hagiographa* are exceedingly useful. They are not all by the author, to whom they are ascribed by Planck. Those on *Ruth*, *Nehemiah*, *Esther*, and *Ecclesiastes*, are by John James Rambach, edited by J. H. Michaelis; those on *Chronicles*, *Ezra*, *Job*, the *Psalms*, and the *Song of Solomon*, are by the last named writer; and those on *Proverbs*, *Lamentations*, and *Daniel*, by Christian Benedict Michaelis. *De Wette's Introduction to the Psalms*, translated from his *Commentary* by J. Torrey, Professor of languages in the university of Vermont, may be found in the *Biblical Repository*, vol. iii. pp. 445, ss.—*Tr.*

commentario. Lugd. 1748, 4to. This work also was published by Vogel in 1769, accompanied by a valuable *auctarium*, by William Abraham Teller.

Less comprehensive is the translation of the Proverbs of Solomon, with explanatory remarks, by John Christopher Doederlein; the second edition of which was printed at Altorf in 1782, 8vo.

Der Prediger Salomo, mit einer Erklaerung nach dem Wortsverstand, von Moses Mendelsohn, aus dem Hebraeischen übersetzt von Joh. Jac. Rabe,—“ The book of Ecclesiastes, with an interpretation according to the literal sense, by Moses Mendelsohn; translated from the Hebrew by John James Rabe. Anspach, 1771, 4to.” This is, in various respects, a valuable work.

On the Song of Solomon, which has suffered more by incorrect interpretation than any other book, we have all that is learned in John Mark’s Commentarius in Canticum Salomonis. Amstel. 1703, 4to. The commencement of an improved method of treating this poem was made in the small work of John Frederic Jacobi, in 8vo, printed in 1771, with the title: Das durch eine leichte und ungekünstelte Erklaerung von seinen Vorwürfen gerettete hohe Lied; “ the Song of Solomon delivered, by an easy and unaffected interpretation, from the imputations cast upon it.” This improvement it really received in a publication of Dr. Hufnagel: Salomos hohes Lied geprüft, übersetzt und erlaeutert; “ Solomon’s Song examined — translated and explained.” Erlangen, 1784, 8vo.

With respect to the prophetical books of the Old

Testament, we may consider the two following works in the light of general introductions.

Nicolas Guertler: *Systema theologiae propheticæ.* Ed. sec. Francof. 1724, 4to.

Christian Augustin Crusius: *Hypomnemata ad Theologiam propheticam.* Tom. ii. Lips. 1764, 1771, 8vo.<sup>a</sup>

The prophecies of Isaiah in particular, have lately occupied the attention of many scholars. In addition to the older production of Campegius Vitringa: *Comment. in Esaiam*—ed. nov. Basil. Tom. iii. 1732,

<sup>a</sup> In addition to the works on this subject mentioned by Horne, Vol. ii. App. pp. 214, ss., a treatise written by John Smith, Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge, is worthy of notice. It may be found in the 4th volume of Watson's Tracts, pp. 297, ss.—Among the latest and most valuable publications on this subject, may be mentioned *Christologie des Alten Testaments und Commentar über die Messianischen Weissagungen der Propheten*, Christology of the Old Testament, and Commentary on the Prophecies relating to the Messiah, by Dr. E. W. Hengstenberg. The first part of this work, in two thin octavo volumes, containing a general introduction, prophecies in the Pentateuch, Psalms, and Isaiah, with discussions connected with the subject, was published at Berlin in 1829. It has been translated into English by Professor Keith, of the Episcopal Theological Seminary, Alexandria, and will very soon be published. The second part, containing a Commentary on Zechariah and Daniel's Seventy weeks, made its appearance in 1832. Between the publication of these two parts, the learned author issued an able defence of the authenticity of Daniel against the objections of Bertholdt and others, and of the integrity of Zechariah, in one volume, 8vo. Berlin 1831. These works are among the very best of the late German Theological productions.—*Tr.*

fol.,<sup>a</sup> we have a work of Doederlein: *Esaias—ex recensione textus Hebræi cum notis*, Altorf. Ed. sec. 1780, 8vo; and a new English translation, with notes, by Robert Lowth, D. D. London, 1778, 4to. This was translated into German by John Benjamin Koppe, and published with additions and observations, at Leipzig in three vols. 8vo. 1779, 1780.<sup>b</sup>

For a long time we possessed scarcely any thing on Jeremiah, except the Commentary of Henry Venema, Leowarden, 1765, two volumes 4to. But at present we have, in addition, the work of John David Michaelis, entitled: *Observationes philologicæ et criticæ in Jeremiæ Vaticinia et Threnos—edid. multisque animadversionibus auxit — Joh. Frid. Schleusner*, Götting. 1793, 4to.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> It has several times been published, in two vols. folio.—*Tr.* [The publication of a German translation of this work, compressed, was commenced by Anthony Frederick Büsching in 1749-51, at Halle, in two vols. 4to.]

<sup>b</sup> For a notice of this work, and the discussions it gave rise to respecting the genuineness of some of Isaiah's prophecies, see Jahn's *Introduction*, Part ii. (§ 104, note a) pp. 350, s. The latest work on Isaiah is the Commentary of Gesenius, in three vols. 8vo., very learned, but, as might be supposed from the author's known principles, neological.—*Tr.*

<sup>c</sup> [The more recent work of the lately deceased Gottlob Leber Spohn, professor of theology at Wittemberg: *Jeremias Vates e versione Judæorum Alexandrinorum ac reliquorum interpret. Græc. emendatus—Lips. 1794. 8vo.* does not belong to the class of interpretations.]

Vol. ii. of Spohn's work was published by his son in 1823.—A notice of Blayney's *Jeremiah* may be seen in Horne, V. ii. App. p. 268.—*Tr.*

The prophecies of Ezekiel, and particularly of his latter temple, received at the very beginning of the last century, very learned interpretations in the following work: Hieron. Pradi et Joh. Bapt. Villalpandi in *Ezekielem explanationes et adparatus urbis ac templi Hierosolymitani—illustratus.* Romæ, Tom. iii. 1569—1604, fol.; but a work of more utility is that of John Frederick Stark: *Comment. in prophetam Ezekielem.* Francof. 1731, 4to.

Ancient and modern attempts to remove the difficulties in the collection of Daniel's prophecies are to be found in Martin Geier's *Prælectiones academicæ in Danielem.* Lips. 1762, 4to.

Herman Venema—*Dissert. ad vaticin. Danielis:* Cap. ii. vii. viii. Leovard, 1745, 4to, and

*Exposition of the book of Daniel*—by John Christopher Harenburg, in two parts. Blankenburg, 1770-72, 4to.<sup>a</sup>

Lastly, on the twelve minor prophets, we have, besides a large number of interpretations on separate books,<sup>b</sup> the work of John Marck: *Commentarius in*

<sup>a</sup> In addition to the work of Hengstenberg mentioned in note, p. 209, the following publication is particularly worthy of notice. *Commentar über das Buch Daniel, Commentary on the book of Daniel*, by H. A. C. Havernick. Hamburg, 1832. This is a learned, orthodox and able Commentary. The author is a friend of Hengstenberg, and has recently been settled as a Professor in the new Theological School at Geneva, Switzerland. He is said to be “a devoted Christian, and deeply skilled in the Oriental languages.”—*Tr.*

<sup>b</sup> Among these the most distinguished is the *Commentary of Edward Pococke on Hosea and Joel.* Oxford 1685-91, fol.

For a notice of Horsey's *Hosea, Pococke on Hosea, Joel,*

xii prophetas minores—in Pfaff's edition. Tubing. 1734, fol.

Translations of the prophets, with the exception of Jonah, by Christian Godfrey Struensee, in three vols. Halberstadt, 1769-73, 8vo.

Prophetæ Minores ex recensione Textus Hebræi cum notis Joh. Aug. Dathe. Halæ, ed. ii. 1779, 8vo.

Among the expository writings on particular books of the New Testament, none are more important and necessary than those which, under the name of Harmonies of the Evangelists, comprehend the four Gospels, illustrate one by means of the others, and endeavour, by comparing their accounts, to determine throughout the true chronological order of these works and of the history of Christ. But as this, unhappily, has been done in almost all cases, in various methods, it becomes necessary to attempt to compare some of them together.<sup>a</sup>

Among the older works of this kind the best, undoubtedly, is that of Martin Chemnitz: *Harmonia*

Micah, and Malachi, Blayney's Zechariah, Newcome's Ezekiel and minor Prophets, with other English works, see Horne, pp. 271, ss.—*Tr.*

<sup>a</sup> In Horne, Vol. ii. App. p. 121, ss. a full account may be seen of Harmonies of the Old and New Testaments, of the four Gospels, of parts of the Gospels, and of the Acts of the Apostles, with the Apostolic Epistles. Newcome's Harmony of the Gospels, which is probably more used than any other, was published at Andover, in 1814, in one vol. 8vo. It is “reprinted from the text and select various readings of Griesbach.”—*Tr.*

quatuor Evangelistarum—quam Polycarpus Lyserus continuavit—Johannes Gerhardus perfecit. Ed. nov. Hamburg. Tom. iii. 1704, fol.

To the end of the last century belong the following:

Bernhard Lamy: *Commentarius in Harmoniam et concordiam quatuor evangeliorum.* Tom. i. Paris. 1699, 4to; and *Harmonia evangelica, cui subjecta est historia Christi ex quatuor evangelii concinnata—*auct. Jo. Clerico. Amstelod. 1698, fol.

Later works of this kind are these:

John Reinhard Rues: *Harmonia Evangelistarum.* Tom. iii. Jenæ, 1727-30. 8vo.

John Albert Bengel's richtige Harmonie der Evangelisten, "accurate harmony of the Gospels." Third edition, Tübingen, 1766, 8vo.

Harmony of the Gospels, by Eberard David Haubер, together with the same author's life of Jesus Christ, drawn from the four Gospels, and remarks on the harmony. Lemgo, 1737, 4to.

New Harmony of the Gospels, by Ernest Augustus Bertling. Halle, 1767, 4to.

Some illustrations of the Gospel of St. Matthew, in particular, are contained in the Commentary of Solomon Van Till, which appeared in 1708 at Frankfort, translated from the Dutch, and at the time of its publication was greatly valued. Also the *Dubia evangelica discussa et vindicata* of Frederic Spanheim, published at Geneva, 1704, in three vols. 4to. relates principally to this Gospel.

In addition to these, we have: James Elsner's

Commentarius critico-philologicus in evangelium Matthæi—cum notulis Ferdin. Stosch, Zwolliæ, Tom. ii. 1769, 4to. But the third volume, which appeared at Utrecht in 1773, contains a Commentary on the Gospel of St. Mark.

On the great question relating to this evangelist, whether he was an epitomist of St. Matthew or not, we have two treatises; one by Koppe, of the year 1780, which maintains the negative, and another by Griesbach, counsellor of the consistory, published in 1789, asserting and proving the affirmative.

On St. Luke;—Observationes philologicæ et theologicæ in Lucæ cap. ix. priora, auct. Carolo Seghaar, Trajecti, 1766, 8vo.

On St. John;—the old valuable work of Frederic Adol. Lampe: Commentarius analytico-exegeticus—Evangelii secundum Johannem. Tom. iii. Amstelod, 1724—26. 4to. A later and still more valuable publication is that of Storr, Ueber den Zweck des Evangeliums und der Briefe Johannis, “on the design of the Gospel and Epistles of St. John.” Tübingen, 1786, 8vo.<sup>a</sup>

On the Acts;—John Louis Lindhammer’s Aus-

<sup>a</sup> A notice of other works on St. John’s Gospel may be found in Horne, V. ii. App. pp. 289—91. In addition to those mentioned by him, among the most valuable of which is that of Tittmann, it may be proper to mention here two German works of great merit. The one is a Commentary in one vol. 8vo., by Dr. Augustus Tholuck, and the other in two vols. 8vo. by Dr. Frederic Lücke, Bonn, 1820, to which are prefixed general discussions respecting the Gospel of St. John.

führliche Erklaerung und Anwendung der Apostelgeschichte, “ Copious explanation of the Acts of the Apostles, with application.” Halle, 1725, fol. Also : Dissertatio in Acta Apostolorum, by John Ernest Immanuel Walch. Jenæ, 1756-59-61. Tom. iii. 4to.

Of the epistles of St. Paul there are so many interpretations, that it is impossible to take notice of any but the more modern.

Among these belong the paraphrases of three distinguished English scholars, which in a manner constitute one whole, namely : A paraphrase of Paul’s Epistles to the Romans, Galatians, Ephesians, and Corinthians, by John Locke, London, 1709, 4to. This was translated into German by John George Hoffman, and published at Francfort, 1769, two vols.

The author, although occasionally somewhat mystical in his views of religion, enters very much into the spirit of the Evangelist, and the second volume particularly may be read with great profit. This is true also of his Commentary on the Epistles of St. John, which is contained in his 3d volume, printed in 1825. The work is continued in a Commentary on the Apocalypse, which I have not yet been able to procure. He denies this to have been the production of St. John. The Commentary of Kuinoel on the Gospels and Acts in 4 vols. 8vo., is well known. The author has introduced into his work many German theories, some of which he refutes, while he adopts no small proportion. It is very useful as a philological commentary, although inferior in this respect to a later work on the Gospels, by C. F. A. Fritzsche. Both of these writers are of the neological school. Their commentaries are in Latin.—*Tr.*

4to. A paraphrase of the Epistles of Paul to the Colossians, Philippians, and Hebrews, by James Pierce, London, 1724, 1733, 4to. Also, a paraphrase of the Epistles to the Thessalonians, Philemon, Timothy, and Titus, by George Benson, London, 1734, 4to. This also was translated into German, together with his paraphrase on the Catholic epistles. Leipzig, 1761, four vols. 4to.

From the scholars of our own country, we have the following works:

Exposition of the Epistles of St. Paul to the Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Thessalonians, and Philemon, by Sigismund James Baumgarten; to which some contributions were made by Semler. Halle, 1767, 4to.

Paraphrase and notes on the Epistles of Paul to the Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Thessalonians, Timothy, Titus, and Philemon, by John David Michaelis. Göttingen, 1750, 4to.

A Paraphrastic interpretation of the Epistle to the Romans, by Gotth. Traug. Zachariæ, Göttingen, 1769, 8vo. Also, on the two Epistles to the Corinthians, 1769, and on those to the Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Thessalonians, 1770, 8vo., both works published at Göttingen by the same author.

Of the Epistles of St. Paul taken separately, those addressed to the Romans and Hebrews have occupied the attention of the greatest number of interpreters. On the former, there are among the later works—

A Paraphrase, with notes on the Epistle to the

Romans, by John Taylor, London, 1745, 4to. A German translation was published at Berlin in 1759, 4to.

Benedict Carpzov: *Stricturæ in epistolam Pauli ad Romanos.* Helmstad. ed. sec. 1758.

Christian Frederic Schmid: *Annotationes in Epist. Pauli ad Romanos.*<sup>a</sup> Lips. 1777, 8vo.

On the Hebrews:—John Andr. Cramer's *Erklaerung des Briefes an die Hebräer*, “Explanation of the Epistle to the Hebrews, in two parts,” Copenhagen, 1758, 4to; also Baumgarten's, with Masch's notes, and additions by Semler, Halle, 1763, 4to.; and that of Michaelis, in two parts, Frankfort, 1762, 1764, 4to.

A new translation of the Epistle to the Hebrews, by Morus. Leipz. ed. sec. 1781, 4to.

The Epistle of Paul to the Hebrews, illustrated by Dr. Storr. Tübingen, 1789. 8vo,

A complete introduction to the Epistle to the Hebrews, by Werner Charles Ziegler. Göttingen, 1790, 8vo.

*Epiſtola Pauli ad Hebræos Græce, perpetua annotatione illustrata a J. H. Heinrichs.* Göttingæ, 1792, 8vo.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Tholuck's *Commentary on the Romans* has lately been translated into the English by the Rev. R. Menzies, and forms Vol. v. of the *Biblical Cabinet*.

<sup>b</sup> This work of Heinrichs constitutes the 8th volume of the Koppian *Commentary*, and has been already mentioned in a previous note. Among the latest and most useful works on the Hebrews, it is proper to mention the *commentary* of Maclean, London, 1819, 2 vols. 8vo., and that of Professor

On the Epistles which are called Catholic, there is, besides the paraphrase of Benson, a brief exposition by Zachariæ, *Götting.* 1776, 8vo., and also a work by David Julius Pott: *Epiſtol. Catholicæ Græce, perpetua annotatione illustratæ.* Vol. i. ii. *Göttingæ* 1786, 90, 8vo.

Lastly; among the great variety of works which have been published on the Revelation of St. John, the following only can be here mentioned:

The Revelation of John, or rather of Jesus Christ, interpreted, by John Albert Bengel. Second edition, *Stuttgard,* 1746, 8vo.

John Christopher Harenberg: *Erklaerung der*

*Stuart*, in 2 vols. 8vo., a second edition of which, in one large volume, has recently made its appearance. The same author's *Commentary on the Romans*, in one vol. 8vo. is also a valuable accession to our stores of biblical literature. The work of Borger on the Epistle to the Galatians is a learned and judicious commentary. Storr's interpretation of the Epistles to the Philippians, Colossians, and Philemon, with historical notices respecting those to the Corinthians, and an interpretation of St. James, may be found in his *Opuscula Academica*, in 3 vols. 8vo. A short essay, by the same author, on the connection between St. Paul's Epistles to the Hebrews and Galatians may be found in the *Commentationes Theologicæ*, edited by Velthusen, Kuinoel, and Ruperti, vol. ii. pp. 394—420. Storr's works are too highly appreciated to require any recommendation. On the first Epistle of St. Peter, Professor Steiger of Geneva, has lately published a volume, which is said to be a work of great excellence; and on the Epistle of St. Jude, Laurmann's *Notæ Criticæ et Commentarius*, *Groningæ*, 1818, 8vo. is well worthy of attention. The Latin version of the epistles, by G. S. Jaspis, illustrated with brief notes, is also an useful book.—*Tr.*

Offenbarung Johannis, “ Interpretation of the Revelation of John.” Brunswick, 1759, 4to.

Maranatha—or the book of the coming of the Lord. By J. G. Herder. Riga, 1779, 8vo.

And, the latest work which has appeared on this book of scripture, J. G. Eichhorn : *Commentarius in Apocalypsin. Tom. ii. Gottingæ, 1791, 8vo.*<sup>a</sup>

## CHAPTER VII.<sup>b</sup>

AFTER this brief list of the principal literary works relating to the interpretation of scripture, nothing further is necessary, with respect to this last branch of knowledge belonging to the study of interpretation, than to subjoin some observations on the method by which we may, with the most facility and success, not only comprehend those principles, but also apply them with some degree of readiness. These observations

<sup>a</sup> The reader may see a brief abstract of Eichhorn’s scheme in Horne, V. ii. App. pp. 308–9; also notices of other works on the Apocalypse, pp. 307–13; Those of Lowman and Woodhouse are generally considered as among the most satisfactory.—*Tr.*

<sup>b</sup> Although a large proportion of the contents of this chapter is particularly appropriate to theological students who pursue a course of divinity in German universities; yet the general sentiments which it expresses, and the exposure of incorrect views and meagre preparation which it makes, are equally applicable in our own age and country. The reader will very easily accommodate the author’s remarks to the state of theological study among ourselves, so as to advance his own improvement.—*Tr.*

may be reduced to a small compass. For, on the one hand, in this subject all depends simply on the correct determination of the object proposed by any one in the study of hermeneutics, from which the observations then flow of themselves ; and, on the other, after what has already been stated, it can hardly be further necessary, to recommend it on any peculiar grounds.

Now, with respect to that object, it may certainly be presumed, that the principal aim of every one who applies himself to the study of hermeneutics must be this : to place himself, by means of this knowledge, in such a situation, as will enable him, by the aid of correct principles, to explain the Bible for himself, and with his own eyes to discover its contents ; and further, to apply his knowledge as a test of the interpretations of others, thereby forming a judgment respecting the results to which they have arrived. We may safely suppose, that every man, who is clearly conscious of any design on this subject, will have this two-fold view ; at least, it is easy to show, that one of these objects cannot be possessed without the other, and that either this design, or none that is reasonable, must be contemplated.

But here it cannot possibly be concealed, that, according to the usual way of pursuing an exegetical course at most of our universities, this does not seem to be the principal aim of the greater proportion of students. The usual way is, to attend (whenever it is practicable to do so,) one or more courses of exegetical lectures on all the books of the Bible, to hear these interpreted by an instructor, and merely to en-

deavour to note down his interpretations as fully as possible, and then—to lay them up for future use.<sup>a</sup>

If we may judge according to this view of the case, the design of the great proportion would seem to be this: to collect together, during their theological course at the university, from the oral instruction of one or more teachers, a complete commentary, if possible, on the whole Bible: for nothing beyond this design can be attained by such a method. But, that this cannot be the design which a man ought to have, is in the strongest manner brought home to the feelings, because it does not in any degree at all correspond with the trouble which his acquisitions must have cost him.

<sup>a</sup> The practice mentioned by the author, is not even yet fallen into disuse. Dwight, in his travels in Germany, p. 194, relates "an anecdote illustrative of the eagerness of students to write down every thing that the professor utters. A young man from Hesse Cassel, who had passed three years at the University of Heidelberg, having finished his education, started for home with nearly twenty volumes of notes which he had taken at the lectures. On the way, his trunk, containing his note book, was cut off from the carriage. In consequence of this robbery, he returned to Heidelberg, and studied three years longer, to provide himself with a trunk full of learning." This anecdote, as the traveller remarks, exhibits the practice in a ludicrous light. But as the notes taken "contain not only abstracts of the lectures, but a list of all the authorities referred to, with the chapters and sections," it is plain that they may be very useful to the students in future life, especially to those who cannot conveniently procure many books. Other advantages arising from the practice of taking notes, will readily suggest themselves.—*Tr.*

If, indeed, this is the ultimate object which a man aims at, if nothing more is wished than to have a commentary, which may afterwards be consulted, to which he may resort when pressed with a difficult text, and which may supply materials sufficient in general for interpretation within the family circle, and in the pulpit ; this may be attained with much greater ease, and undoubtedly at a much cheaper rate. We have already printed commentaries in abundance. We have them of all kinds, in all forms and sizes, of desirable brevity, and of desirable length, in Latin and in German. It is only necessary for a man to accommodate himself with one or two of these, and he has all that he wants ; he can spare himself the trouble of making notes on four or five courses of exegetical lectures, which, in this case, would be a labour altogether superfluous.

Undoubtedly, there might often be a very great difference between the commentary which a man may procure, and the exegetical course of lectures which he may hear ; yet there are late works of this kind, highly valued, and indeed with great reason, which in part have given the tone to the whole interpretation of our age, and those every professor himself, in preparing his lectures, must use. This then is a consideration which removes almost all the difference which could arise ; or, at least, renders it unimportant.

For one, who contents himself with merely hearing an exposition of what the Bible contains, it is not of very great importance, at least in a principal respect, what the interpretation is. Whether he rely

upon an old commentator, or a modern interpreter, in all cases he can only see with the eyes of another; in all cases, he is only led by the guidance of another. And, so long as he cannot himself determine whether the way in which he is conducted is the right one, his confidence is nothing but a blind faith, which must induce him to follow indifferently the good or the bad guide, to receive as true the most erroneous interpretations, as well as the most correct. For this purpose, it is plain that no particular study is requisite. If a man is willing to content himself with this, he may spare himself the labour of interpretation altogether. Hence, then, it is most clearly evident, that a very different design from this must be proposed, and this can be none other than the one already stated. In pursuing the study of hermeneutics, the only design which can, with any appearance of reason, be aimed at, is, to learn how to interpret *for one's self*, and to form a judgment, on sure fundamental principles, respecting the conclusions, which the interpretation of others has deduced from the Bible. In reference to this design, and only to this, must the method also be determined, by which we should be guided in the subject under consideration.

If this point be admitted, the necessity of the following conditions, and the propriety of the directions resulting from them, for the study of interpretation, will strike every one of themselves.

The first condition is this: no one should venture to begin interpreting for himself, or even to suppose that he has acquired the ability necessary for such a task, before he has collected sufficient philological

knowledge of the languages of our sacred writers, from the sources before adduced, and in the method already laid down. It has been shown in this work, that philological acquaintance with language is the first and most necessary aid and instrument in interpreting ; and, as it is a self evident truth, that no man can explain a book while he is unacquainted with the language in which it was written, this at any rate need not be further developed, although it may be the more necessary to take some notice here of the very absurd method which is too often pursued in studies of this nature.

The usual manner in our universities is, to begin with hearing exegetical lectures, before the student has acquired grammatical knowledge enough to enable him to understand even the words of the original text ; and, in fact, not a few, who are earnest in pursuing a thorough course of study, begin in this way for the very purpose of learning biblical philology, and of becoming acquainted with the language of scripture.

A part of this object they may also, in some degree, secure in this way. In interpreting before a class, every professor must of course point out the significations of the words, the characteristics of his author's language, the peculiarities of his style and grammar. All of this a student may apprehend, observe, and at all events note down, and thus he may collect a considerable number of fragments of biblical philology of no little use. But, in most cases of this kind, what can a man do with such fragments ? Not to urge that they are nothing but fragments,—that for the most

part they suppose an acquaintance with the first and most necessary grammatical principles of the language to have been already made,—that no teacher, in an exegetical collegiate course, can enter into these,—that what he draws from higher philology can be of no use to those who are not conversant in the elements of grammar ;—to set aside all this, who can expect immediately to seize upon these scattered philological notices, as they must be given in the lecture of an instructor, in reference to their sources, their reasons, and objects, so as to be able to apply them himself with safety ? If a man cannot do this, or does not desire to do it, he does, in fact, what is equivalent to a formal renunciation of any purpose of interpreting for himself.

It is therefore absolutely necessary, to bring to the study of hermeneutics a knowledge of the first principles, at least, of the grammar of the sacred languages. For this study can teach us nothing more than how to ascertain the sense of scripture by the assistance of that knowledge of its languages. It can only show us, how we must apply philology to interpretation, in order to be certain whether the interpretation is correct. It is, therefore, in the very nature of things, indispensably necessary to have previously acquired that knowledge.

Secondly,—The next thing, then, to be done undoubtedly is, or should be, to become acquainted with the principles of hermeneutics, with those general rules which sound understanding prescribes, and those means of assistance and invention which logic must supply. In fact, the knowledge of these is now in-

dispensable ; but this knowledge may be procured in more ways than one, and it is by no means a matter of indifference which of them shall be selected.

These principles and rules can be readily enough found in the best directions for hermeneutics which are most accessible. Neither are these principles so numerous as to require any great trouble to extract them from these directions, or any great effort to retain them in memory ; much less are they so abstract, as to demand particular acuteness or deep thought, in order to penetrate into the grounds of them, and thus become convinced of their truth. If we proceed on this direct course, we certainly can arrive quickly and easily enough at an acquaintance with them ; but still considerable advantages appear to be possessed by another, which, although it does not so promptly lead to the same result, accomplishes the object with equal certainty.

We may ourselves draw these rules and principles of hermeneutics even from examples wherein they are applied, and thereby secure the advantage of making ourselves acquainted at the same time with the principles themselves, and with the manner, with the benefits, with the talent of applying them ; and thus we shall the sooner acquire a readiness in this matter. Yet it is probable that both of these methods may be connected without inconvenience, and this would undoubtedly be the most useful course. At all events, there would certainly be no loss of time, if a student, preparatory to his first exegetical course, should apply himself for some days to the *Interpres* of Ernesti, in order to obtain from it the rules which should guide

him in interpreting. A few days only would be quite sufficient for this purpose. Let him then be shown by an instructor—not how these rules can be applied—but their actual application in interpreting, and by the interpretation of the scriptures let them as it were be brought before him: in other words, let him attend to a course of instruction according to these rules, and thus learn the art of applying them from the procedure of his interpreter.

That he ought not in this stage to venture himself to make the application, and immediately to exercise himself in interpreting, is too plain to need proof: for in the first effort it will certainly be found that this requires some experience, which can only be gradually obtained by attentive observation of the endeavours of others. But this observation is undoubtedly made with the most effect, by attending a course of interpretation, and listening to the oral instruction of a teacher. It may indeed be drawn also from any commentary on the Bible, or on some separate book. We need only ask ourselves, in regard to any interpreted passage, why the commentator has explained it in this way and not in another, and we shall not only in general easily ascertain the rule by which he was governed, but also be in a situation to perceive the particular manner in which he applied it. But in the oral lecture of an instructor, we see as it were this very application; we can observe the proper rise of the interpretation, the gradual growth and formation of the true sense of a passage interpreted according to those rules; we perceive, with clearer apprehension, how the whole business can be conducted, how much fore-

sight may be directed to it, where it may be abbreviated or lightened; we learn also, along with these, many practical advantages, and in this way we certainly shall approach nearer to the object in view in a short space of time, than we could possibly do in a longer period, spent in pursuing a course of study entirely private.

The benefit of exegetical lectures is, in this view of the subject, strictly and unequivocally determined: but, even in this view, is it also very evident how, and for what purpose, they can and ought especially to be used.

In such collegiate courses, it should not be the principal point, merely to learn what the instructor explains from the Bible, but to notice how he explains it. In other words, we should not regard it as the great object of attention, simply to hear another interpret what the Bible contains, but rather this: **TO ASCERTAIN HOW WE MAY BE ABLE OURSELVES TO DISCOVER ITS CONTENTS.** We must therefore pay more attention to the teacher's method of interpretation than to his interpretation itself, more to the manner than to the results of his exegesis, more to the reasons from which he shows the true sensé of a passage of scripture, than to that sense itself which he shows as the true one.

The ground of this may be seen in that design which a man should have in the study of hermeneutics, and which alone can properly be called reasonable. But, in order to attain this object, it is not necessary to attend lectures on the whole Bible and all its separate books; it can very well be attained by

hearing a course of instruction on some. It may indeed, notwithstanding this, be requisite to attend particular expositions of some books of the Old Testament and of some of the New; and in peculiar circumstances, and with certain objects in view, it may also be very useful, if opportunity offer, to hear more than one interpreter on the same book. The tyro in hermeneutics during this period, or in this term of his course, can derive little or no advantage from what are called *Cursoria*, or brief outlines. Undoubtedly they may be useful in a variety of respects, and the more certainly if the whole Bible is gone through with them; but their utility is confined to those who are prepared for them by other means, and who have approached the close of the third term, which they have to pass through.

After the student has acquired, in the proposed way, some clear ideas respecting the practical application of the principles of hermeneutics, then, in the third and last place, it is time for him to begin to exercise himself in interpreting; for which no particular directions are now necessary. In order the sooner to acquire a readiness and a confidence in this matter, it is perhaps of chief importance, to undertake it at first rather slowly, to adopt nothing without being able to give one's self an accurate account of the reasons which have led to its adoption, and not to advance a step without a clear consciousness of the causes which make it necessary. In order to acquire this habit the more readily, it would be very proper, to select designedly, for the first efforts in interpretation, some passages of scripture, the exposition of which involves

several difficulties. If we exercise ourselves at first with very easy passages, we may very soon be led into the error of supposing the business of hermeneutics much lighter than it is, or to congratulate ourselves on having acquired a greater ability in conducting it than is really the fact. On the other hand, we can in no event lose any thing, if we originally venture on difficult places: for if in the attempt we find them too difficult for our abilities, we thereby experience, with the utmost certainty, what deficiencies in our knowledge still remain to be supplied; and if we succeed in the effort, we may be certain of a favourable result in reference to all easy places. The correctness of these attempts of our own will be best put to the proof, by comparing the interpretations thus deduced, with others which can easily be found in the abundance of commentaries extant.

That, by pursuing this method, a man does and must learn to become his own interpreter, is not only a matter of experience, but is also to be presumed. Still, however—and this consideration affords the most suitable conclusion to the whole subject—it is certainly most clearly evident, that no one can ever learn to interpret for himself, unless he has acquired the necessary knowledge of all the literature already introduced as belonging to exegetical theology.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> See App. Note XII.

## APPENDIX.

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### TRANSLATOR'S NOTES.

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THE notes appended to this work are added by the Translator, in order to give the student who is unacquainted with criticism and interpretation a general view of the most prominent points connected with the subjects to which the author refers. If he wishes to acquire a more minute knowledge of the several topics brought before him, the sources of information are abundant ; and the most important and useful are pointed out in the course of the work. More particular references will occasionally be made in the notes.

[In reprinting this work, it has been thought advisable to transpose the shorter notes from the Appendix, where they were originally placed by the Translator, to the pages of the text to which they respectively belong, as being more convenient for reference.]

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#### NOTE I.

PERHAPS it would be more accurate to say,—“ with which the Hebrew was anciently in part identified ” The probability appears to be, that the Hebrew is only one dialect of a language, which was originally employed as the medium of communication in Syria, Phœnicia, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Arabia and Ethiopia. From the different appellations given

by the Patriarch Jacob and his father-in-law to a heap of stones erected as a pledge of mutual amity,<sup>a</sup> it is evident, that in some respects at least, the language of the Syrians differed at that early period from that of the Hebrews. And yet, from the whole patriarchal history, it would seem not less evident, that the difference could not have been very considerable or extensive; and an examination of the monuments which remain of both, establishes the conclusion, that they were radically the same. Abraham, his son, grand-sons, connexions and dependents, are constantly represented as migratory. But no difficulty seems to have existed in communicating with the different tribes or nations among whom they travelled; and from this it would appear to be a reasonable inference, that one dialect, sufficiently common for the purposes of general intercourse, must have been then in use. If it should be said, that like the merchants of ancient times and of the middle ages, the patriarchs could have acquired sufficient knowledge of the various tongues of the people among whom they travelled; this must be allowed. But such a supposition will not meet all the difficulties of the case, as an acquisition of various languages in this way is hardly to be assumed of all the members of their large families, or rather of extensive bodies of men, as they are more properly to be regarded. If Abraham's own family supplied him with 318 native servants able to bear arms,<sup>b</sup> it is plain that his domestic establishment must have amounted, at least, to 1500 souls. Unless the several dialects approximated sufficiently near each other to constitute some general medium of communication, it will be difficult to account for the apparent facility with which Rachel converses with Jacob. And that this is the true solution of the phenomena is strengthened by subsequent facts. When Moses leaves Egypt and connects himself with the Midianites in Arabia, he is able to converse with the daughter of the priest in the language, which in his youth he had learned in the family of his Hebrew parents. When his Midianite father-in-law visits him in the desert, they have no difficulty in holding intercourse with each other. It is worthy of notice

<sup>a</sup> Gen. xxxi. 47.

<sup>b</sup> See Gen. xiv. 14.

also, that some centuries afterwards, as late as the time of the Judges, the language spoken by the Midianites, who are none other than Arabians, was understood by the Hebrews without an interpreter. This is plain from the fact, that Gideon, who had entered at night the camp of the enemy, understood the narration of a dream which he heard one Midianite communicating to his companion.<sup>a</sup> The supposition that Gideon's knowledge was peculiar to himself, does not seem to be probable.

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## NOTE II.

To assist us in forming a correct idea of the criticism of the New Testament, some general knowledge of the most important manuscripts is necessary, which it is the design of this note to communicate. It must of course be very general, as a particular and altogether satisfactory account cannot be obtained, except by consulting various authors and examining fac-similes. See Simon's *Histoire Critique du texte du Nouveau Testament*, Chap. xxix—xxxiii. pp. 336, ss., also his *Dissertation Critique sur les principaux Actes Manuscrits*, appended to his *Histoire Critique des principaux Commentateurs du N. T.*; Michaelis' *Introduction to the New Testament*, translated from the German and considerably augmented with Notes, &c. by the Right Rev. Herbert Marsh, D. D. F. R. S. Vol. II. Part I. pp. 159, ss. Edit. iii.; Horne's *Introduction*, Vol. II. pp. 97, ss. Edit. vii. Lond. and Montfaucon's *Palæographia Græca*. The two last works contain specimens from which the reader may acquire a sufficient acquaintance with the different characters in which manuscripts were written. See also *Biblical Cabinet*, Vol. iv. Ernesti's *Institutes*, translated by the Rev. C. H. Terrot.

There are many manuscripts which contain readings that may be called characteristic. These are either derived from the same source, or are copies one of another: and the affinity

a See Judges vii. 13—15.

which they bear to each other has induced critics to form them into classes, each class corresponding in a great degree with what is meant by an edition, as the term is applied to printed books. This classification or relationship is called by Semler <sup>a</sup> *recensio*, and the same word is used by Griesbach. <sup>b</sup> Bengel <sup>c</sup> employs the term *familia* or *natio*; Michaelis (in Marsh's Translation,) uses *edition*, Laurence <sup>d</sup> *text*; and Nolan <sup>e</sup> *class*.

In the greatest number of manuscripts the Gospels only are contained: a considerable number comprehend the Gospels, the Epistles and Acts; a few the Apocalypse. The whole of the New Testament is seldom to be found in one manuscript. As several have chasms, it is not to be concluded that a manuscript accords with the commonly received text, because it is not referred to in a critical edition as differing from it; for the passage or even the book in which it occurs may be wanting.

It must be observed, that there are certain manuscripts which are called in Greek ἀναγνώσματα from ἀναγνώσκω, to read, and in Latin lectionaria. The portions which they contain are those which were appointed to be read in the public service of the church, and hence they derive their name. The text of the lectionaria was occasionally altered to accommodate to the approved readings of a particular period; and introductory clauses were often added to prepare the hearer or reader for the history or discourse that was to follow. Such introductory clauses are sometimes retained in our Book of Common Prayer. See, for example, the Gospels for the sixth and ninth Sundays after Trinity, for St. Philip and St. James' day, and that for All Saints' day—From these and other circumstances the evi-

<sup>a</sup> Apparatus ad liberalem Novi Testamenti interpretationem, Halæ, 1767, 8vo.

<sup>b</sup> Symbolæ Criticæ ad supplendas et corrigendas variarum Novi Testamenti lectionum collectiones. Haile, 1785, 8vo. Vol. II. Also in the Prolegomena to his New Testament.

<sup>c</sup> Apparatus Criticus ad Novum Testamentum, Tubingæ, 1763, 4to

<sup>d</sup> Remarks upon the systematical classification of Manuscripts adopted by Griesbach in his edition of the Greek Testament. Oxford, 1814, 8vo pamphlet.

<sup>e</sup> An Inquiry into the Integrity of the Greek Vulgate or received text of the New Testament. London, 1815.

dence which these manuscripts afford in determining the correctness of readings in general, is less to be relied on than that of others.

In some manuscripts the Greek text is accompanied by a Latin translation, with which, in the opinion of certain critics, it has been made to correspond. Hence the text of such manuscripts has been said to latinize; but this charge is thought by some of the best critics to be unfounded. When a Latin version accompanies the text, the copy is called a Greek-Latin manuscript.

The manuscripts which are of principal importance in relation to controverted readings are the following. They are all, with the exception of the three last, written in *uncial* characters, that is, in large or capital letters.

The first, which is designated in critical editions by an A, was presented to Charles I. by Cyril Lucar, Patriarch of Constantinople, and is now in the British Museum. It is called the *Alexandrine Manuscript*, (Codex Alexandrinus,) because Cyril is said to have brought it from Alexandria, of which place he had been patriarch. It contains the whole Bible. The Old Testament, which is the *Septuagint* version, is in three folios. The New is in one, and commences with Matt. xxv. 6, the preceding part being wanting. On the antiquity of this manuscript, critics have been greatly divided in opinion. Some have ascribed it to the latter half of the fourth century, some to the fifth, others to the sixth, and others again will not allow it to be more ancient than the eighth. A fac-simile of it, containing the New Testament was published by Dr. Woide at London, in 1786, in one splendid folio.

The next important manuscript is called the *Vatican*, (Codex *Vaticanus*,) and is usually referred to in critical editions by a B. Its name is derived from the *Vatican Library* at Rome, where it is preserved. It contains the whole Greek Bible. In the New Testament the order of the books is as follows: the Gospels, the Acts, the seven *Catholic Epistles*, St. Paul's Epistles, with the exception of those to Timo-

thy, Titus and Philemon, and the latter part of that to the Hebrews from ix. 14, *ἀμαρτιῶν τῷ θεῷ*. The remainder of the manuscript is lost, and consequently it wants the Apocalypse of St. John; although this and the latter part of Hebrews have been added by a modern transcriber. It is disputed whether this or the Alexandrine manuscript is of higher antiquity; and different critics have assigned it different dates, from the fourth century to the seventh.

The third manuscript to be mentioned is generally denoted by a C. It is a Codex rescriptus, (in Greek *παλιμψηστος*,) and is so called because over the original writing—which comprehended the whole Greek Bible, and which was imperfectly erased—the works of Ephrem the Syrian were written; and thus the material was made to contain two different publications. This expedient was occasionally resorted to in ancient times, in consequence of the difficulty of procuring parchments or other substances suitable to be used for writing. The manuscript has many chasms. It is placed by some critics in the seventh century; by others in the sixth.

Another manuscript particularly deserving of notice, is called the Cambridge, (Codex Cantabrigiensis,) or Beza's (Codex Bezæ,) or Stephen's  $\beta'$ , and is designated by D. It was given to Cambridge by Beza in 1581, for which reason it is known by both these names; and because some of the best critics have identified it with a manuscript used by Robert Stephens, and marked  $\beta'$  in his celebrated edition of 1550, it has received also the third of the above mentioned appellations. It is a Greek-Latin manuscript of the Gospels and Acts, with many chasms. The arrangement of the Gospels is that which is usual in Latin copies, thus: Matthew, John, Luke, Mark. Some have thought that the Cambridge manuscript is corrupted from the Latin, because many of its characteristic readings agree with the Vulgate, and many with some of the Old Latin versions. But this agreement only shows that their testimony respecting readings coincides: it by no means proves that either was altered from the other; although, if it did, it is obvious that the Latin might as readily have been altered from

the Greek as the Greek from the Latin. In the opinion of the most judicious and accurate critics, this manuscript cannot possibly be more modern than the eighth century, and most probably was written in the fifth; although it may have been written considerably before that period.

The next manuscript in uncial letters is the Clermont, (Codex Claromontanus.) This also is a Greek-Latin manuscript, marked D. Although the letter which designates it is the same as that of the preceding manuscript, no confusion can possibly arise, as the Clermont contains no other part of the New Testament except St. Paul's epistles. It is preserved entire in the Royal Library at Paris, certain sheets, which are said to have been stolen, having been replaced. Dr. Mill supposed this manuscript to be the second part of the Codex Cantabrigiensis; an opinion which is satisfactorily refuted by Wetstein. It is assigned by the critics to the sixth or seventh century.

Three other manuscripts, written in small characters, are principally worthy of attention, because of the intimate connexion they have met with the much contested passage in 1 John v. 7.

The first of these, which contains the whole New Testament, is called the Montfort or Dublin Manuscript, (Codex Montfortianus or Dublinensis,) and is quoted by Erasmus in his note on 1 John v. 7, under the name of Codex Britannicus, because he was informed that a Greek manuscript containing the above mentioned text,<sup>a</sup> had been found in England. No particulars of its history can be traced farther back than this period, 1519—1522. It belonged to Dr. Montfort, a Cambridge theologian, who lived in the former half of the seventeenth century, and afterwards became the property of Archbishop Usher, who presented it to the library of Trinity College, Dublin, where it now is, and whence it has derived its other title. On the authority of this manuscript alone, Erasmus inserted 1 John v. 7, in his third edition, having omitted it in his

<sup>a</sup> See *Critici Sacri*, Tom. viii. Col 272.

first and second; and he inserted it in consequence of a promise he had made of introducing it in his next edition, if any Greek manuscript containing it should be found. Hence the suspicion has arisen that the manuscript was written for this very purpose. It is universally allowed that it is very modern, and probably was not written before the fifteenth century, as it is divided according to the Latin chapters introduced by Hugo in the thirteenth, which is not the case with any Greek manuscripts written before the fifteenth, when, in consequence of the fall of Constantinople, the Greeks fled into the west of Europe. As some of its readings are remarkably coincident with those of the Latin Vulgate, it is very likely that its author was not a little indebted to this version. Compare in the same chapter of St. John verse 6, its reading, *Xριστός* (instead of *πνεῦμα*), *ἐστίν ἡ ἀλήθεια* with the Vulgate, “ Christus est veritas.”

It has been conjectured that the Codex Britannicus of Erasmus was a different manuscript from the present Montfortianus or Dublinensis, because Erasmus, in quoting from it, 1 John v. 7, omits *δύο* after the first *πνεῦμα*, and *οι* before the second *μαρτυροῦντες*, both of which are to be found in this manuscript. But it ought to be recollected, that this quotation occurs in his defence addressed to James Lopez Stunica, (a Spanish divine with whom he had a controversy on this subject,) in which most probably he trusted to his memory. In his third edition, where he professes to introduce from the Codex Britannicus what was wanting in his own manuscripts, this controverted passage agrees exactly with the Codex Dublinensis.

The second of these manuscripts, which also contains the whole New Testament, is known by the name of the Codex Ravianus or Ravii or Berolinensis, containing also 1 John v. 7. This manuscript was brought from the East by Professor Rave of Upsal, and is now in Berlin, hence its titles. It is generally admitted by critics that it is an imposture, a copy of the Greek text in the Complutensian Polyglot, of which it is said to look like a fac-simile. It even copies from this edition

errors of the press, from which it may be inferred that the writer's knowledge of Greek was very limited. Where its readings differ from the Complutensian, as they frequently do, they agree with the textuary or marginal readings in the third edition of Stephens. When Erasmus challenged Stunica to produce a single Greek manuscript containing 1 John v. 7, he would undoubtedly have appealed to the Codex Ravianus, had he known of its existence.

The other manuscript is the Codex Ottobianus, preserved in the Vatican Library, and numbered 298. It contains the disputed passage, although somewhat different from the common reading, thus:—ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου, πατήρ, λόγος, καὶ πνεῦμα ἄγιον καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἐν εἰσι. Καὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυρῶντες ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς—Scholtz, who discovered this manuscript and made it known, ascribes it to the fourteenth century. The lateness of its date diminishes the value of its testimony in favour of the text in question. See Lee's Prolegomena to Bagster's Polyglot. Prol. vi. Sect. ii. p. 72.

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### NOTE III.

FOR some notice of the Targums, see Jahn, pp. 64—68, and the authors there mentioned, with Le Long.—An account of the Samaritan Pentateuch, which the author both here and elsewhere erroneously mentions as a “version,” may also be found in Jahn, pp. 135—141, and Le Long.

A new Polyglot in one splendid folio volume has lately made its appearance under the following title:—Biblia Sacra Polyglotta, textu sarchetypos versionesque præcipuas, necnon versiones recentiores, Anglicanum, Germanicam, Italicam, Gallicam et Hispanicam complectentia. Accedunt Prolegomena in textuum archetyporum versionumque antiquarum crisin literalem, auctore Samuele Lee, S. T. B. &c. Londini, sumptibus Samuelis Bagster, 1831. In this Polyglot the Hebrew is from Van der Hooght's edition, the Hebrew New Testament, by William Greenfield; the Septuagint, from the

Vatican of Cardinal Carafa : the Greek Testament, according to the received text ; the Vulgate from the editions of Sixtus V and Clement VIII. The English translation is accompanied with marginal readings and parallel places ; the German is that of Luther : the French, of Ostervald ; the Italian, of Diodati ; the Spanish of Father Scio.—An appendix is also added containing the New Testament in Syriac, the Peshito, according to Widmanstadt's edition of 1555, with a collation of the edition published by the British and Foreign Bible Society ; the Samaritan Pentateuch, according to Kennicott's edition ; various readings of the Septuagint, from Grabe's edition ; and a collection of various readings of the New Testament, from Griesbach.—The whole work is exceedingly beautiful, but in so small a type as to make the use of it very inconvenient.

The Prolegomena to this work are a series of learned disquisitions on the various topics connected with biblical criticism. As they have been printed in a small quarto volume of 75 pages, and can be obtained (I believe) separately from the Bible, I add the following notice of the subjects discussed, in order that the reader may have a general idea of their contents.

*Prol. I. Sect. i. De Scripturis sacris, earumque revelatione, indole, scopo, &c.* *Sect. ii. De lingua qua primitus patefactæ sunt Scripturæ Sacræ, ejusque antiquitate, natura atque usu.* *Sect. iii. De Sacri textus originibus, atque conservatione.* *Sect. iv. De sacrarum scripturarum fatis durante theocratia.* *Sect. v. De statu sacri textus, Judæis in Babylonia degentibus.* *Sect. vi. De Christianismi ortu, ejusque in sacras literas vi effectrice.* *Sect. vii. De masoræ origine et incrementis.* *Sect. viii. De masora, qualis sc. sese nunc in Bibliis Rabbinicis nobis ob oculos ponit.* *Sect. ix. De ablationibus et correctionibus e scribis factis.* *Sect. x. De vocibus quibusdam legendis, quamvis in textu scriptæ non reperiantur.* *Sect. xi. De ea masoræ parte quæ grammaticen, sive interpretationem sacri textus exegeticam, spectat.* *Sect. xii. Comparatio textus Hebraici in locis quibusdam Geneseos, cum Chaldaica Onkelosi,*

necnon Syriaca versione quam Peshito appellant, sparsis hinc inde notis criticis. *Sect. xiii.* De textus Hebraici fatis ab anno C. N. 500, ad hunc usque diem. *Sect. xiv.* De codicibus Hebraicis MSS. in India Orientali et Sina reperiundis.—Prol. II. *Sect. i.* De Pentateucho Samaritano, ejusque versionibus, Samaritica, Græca, et Arabica. *Sect. ii.* De versione Samari-tico-Chaldaica, ejusque sequacibus, Græca et Arabica. *Sect. iii.* Collatio versuum quorundam textus Hebraici editionis Samaritanæ, cum versione Chaldaico-Samaritica, Chaldaica Onkelosi, et Arabica Abu Said.—Prol. III. *Sect. i.* De ver-sionibus Syriacis Arabicisque ex iis factis. *Sect. ii.* De ver-sionibus Veteris Fœderis Syriacis, quæ e Græco fuerint cusæ. *Sect. iii.* De recensione Karkaphensi Syriaca. *Sect. iv.* De Novi Fœderis versione Syra, Peshito dicta. *Sect. v.* De ver-sionibus Syriacis, Philoxeniana et Hierosolymitana. *Sect. vi.* De versionibus Arabica, sc. et Persica ex Peshito Syrorum, factis.—Prol. IV. *Sect. i.* De Septuaginta Græcorum ver-sione viralı. *Sect. ii.* De operibus criticis Origenis, Bibliis sc. Tetraplis, Hexaplis, &c. *Sect. iii.* De notis Origenianis, As-terisco, Obelo, Lemnisco, Hypolemnisco. *Sect. iv.* De Aquila ejusque versionibus S. S. Græcis. *Sect. v.* De Symmacho ver-sioneque ejus Græca. *Sect. vi.* De Theodotionis versione. *Sect. vii.* De reliquis versionibus, Quinta, Sexta, Septima, Hexapla-ribus. *Sect. viii.* De versione Græca Venetiis haud ita pridem reperta.—Prol. V. *Sect. i.* De Vulgatis Latinorum versioni-bus, antiquiore sc. et Hieronymiana. *Sect. ii.* De versione Vulgata Latina Hieronymiana.—Prol. VI. *Sect. i. ii.* De crisi Novi Testamenti, ejusque textus Græci statu hodierno.—Man-tissa. De interpretatione scripturarum sacrarum exegetica.

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#### NOTE IV.

To the lexicographical works mentioned by the author, the following are added, some of which are of later date than that of his publication. Those of Avenarius, Calasio, Schindler,

Castell, Robertson, Stockius, Gusset, and David Levi, with some others of less authority, are omitted.

*Johannis Buxtorfi Lexicon Chaldaicum, Talmudicum et Rabbinicum*, folio, Basil, 1640. This most laborious work (*opus triginta annorum*,) was prepared by the father, and published, with some improvements, by the son. There is no other work which can be substituted in its place.

Parkhurst's Hebrew Lexicon, London, 1799, large 8vo. although it contains much learning, is superseded by others, compiled on more correct philological principles. The author rejects the use of the points, and is devoted to the philosophical and biblical views of Hutchinson.

A compendious Lexicon of the Hebrew language, in two volumes, thick 12mo, vol. i. containing an explanation of every word which occurs in the Psalms, with notes; vol. ii. being a Lexicon and Grammar of the whole language. By Clement C. Moore (now LL. D. and Professor of Oriental and Greek Literature in the general Theological Seminary of the Prot. Epis. church,) New-York, 1809.—This work will be found very useful to a beginner in Hebrew, for whom it is principally designed.

Gesenius' Hebrew Lexicon, in German, appeared at Leipzig, in two volumes, 8vo. in 1810—12; and in 1815, the author published at the same place, an abridgement of his work, with some improvements. The larger lexicon was translated into English by Christopher Leo, and published in two parts, 4to. at Cambridge, (England,) Part i. in 1825, and Part ii. in 1828.

In 1824, the Rev. Josiah W. Gibbs, A. M., of the Theological Seminary, Andover, published a Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament, including the Biblical Chaldee, from the German works of Gesenius just mentioned, with improvements, in one vol. 8vo. This valuable work was reprinted at London, in 1827.

In 1828, Mr. Gibbs, now professor of Sacred Literature in the Theological School in Yale College, published at Andover, a Manual of Hebrew and English Lexicon, including the Biblical Chaldee, designed particularly for beginners. This Man-

ual is intended to assist students of Hebrew, until the author shall be able to prepare a second edition of his larger work; which, if I may form an opinion from a printed specimen that I have seen, will be a great improvement of the first.

Lexicon Manuale Hebraicum et Chaldaicum in Veteris Testamenti libros, post editionem Germanicam tertiam Latine elaboravit, multisque modis retractavit et auxit Guil. Gesenius, Philos. et Theol. Doct., &c. Lipsiæ, 1833. Royal 8vo. This work is a great improvement of the author's former work. He is preparing a still more extensive Lexicon in Latin, one part of which in thin 4to, appeared last year.— The reader will find a valuable article of Gesenius translated from the original German, “on the sources of Hebrew philology and lexicography,” in the Biblical Repository, vol. iii. pp. 1. ss., and also in a subsequent volume of the Biblical Cabinet.

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#### NOTE V.

To the list of grammars and works of a grammatical character given by the author, the following must be added, as they are among the most important for an English student.

A Hebrew grammar, with a copious Syntax and Praxis, by Moses Stuart, Professor of Sacred Literature in the Theological Seminary at Andover, 8vo. 1821.—This work is founded chiefly on the Hebrew grammar of Gesenius. The third edition considerably condensed and improved, was published in 1828, and the fourth in 1831. In the mean time the author published “Dissertations on the importance and best method of studying the original languages of the Bible, by Jahn, Gesenius and Wytténbach,” translated from the original Latin, 8vo Pamphlet, 1821.

In 1827, the Rev. Samuel Lee, D. D. Professor of Arabic, and since regius Professor of Hebrew, in the University of Cambridge, published a grammar of the Hebrew language, comprised in a series of Lectures, 8vo. The learned author published in 1832 a second edition of his work, enriched with much original matter.

In 1829, Professor Stuart published at Andover, a Hebrew Chrestomathy, designed as the first volume of a course of Hebrew study, 8vo. A second volume was issued in 1830.

A Manual of Hebrew Grammar, for the use of beginners. By J. Seixas, Andover, 1833, 8vo. pp. 54.

Winer's Chaldee Grammar, to which is appended a Chrestomathy or Collection of portions for reading, selected from the Targums, is a very useful compilation. The title of the book is : Grammatik des Biblischen und Targumischen Chaldaismus, von Dr. George Benedict Winer. Leipzig, 1824, 8vo.

A Manual of the Chaldee language, containing a Chaldee Grammar, chiefly from the German of Professor G. B. Winer ; a Chrestomathy, consisting of selections from the Targums, and including the whole of the biblical Chaldee, with notes ; and a vocabulary adapted to the Chrestomathy, with an appendix on the Rabbinical character and style by Elias Riggs, A. M. Boston, 8vo. 1832.

[Stier Neu geordnetes lehrgebäude der Hebräischen Sprache, 8vo. Lips. 1833.

" It is the best work now extant in any language on the elements of what is usually called the Etymology of Hebrew. Its excellence consists especially in always establishing the rule of general grammar before he proceeds to its application to Hebrew."—*Quarterly Journ. of Education*, No. XIII. Jan. 1834.

Ewald's Grammatik der Hebräischen Sprache des Alten Testament, 8vo. Leipz. 1828.

" This and his other works were received with great applause by the Orthodox party in Germany. The characteristics of his grammar consist in his manner of accounting for the general rules, and in his attempts to refer the rules and their exceptions to more general principles than Gesenius."—*Quarterly Journal of Education*, No. XIII. Jan. 1834.]

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#### NOTE VI.

If the reader wishes to see a particular account of the most celebrated editions of the Greek Testament that were published before Griesbach's, he will find it in Marsh's Michaelis,

Vol. ii. Part i. pp. 429, ss. Horne's Introduction, Vol. ii. Part ii. Appendix pp. 10, ss. and Le Long's *Bibliotheca Sacra*, Masch's edition, Part i. Cap. ii. pp. 189, ss. A brief view is given also in Marsh's *Lectures*.

As the edition of Griesbach is much used, and has given rise to considerable discussion, and as later editors of great learning and acumen have differed somewhat from this distinguished scholar in their views of certain important principles, and consequently have arrived at different results, it may not be unprofitable to lay before the young student, for whom principally those notes are intended, a general view of that critic's system, together with a few of the most prominent objections which have been urged against it.

Griesbach's *Prolegomena* is divided into seven sections, of which the following is an outline.

#### SECTION I.

The first section examines the origin and authority of the commonly received text, and shows that a new recension is neither improper nor unnecessary.

The author tells us, that before the publication of the received text in the Elzevir edition, <sup>a</sup> different editors followed different authorities; some made use of Erasmus, some of the Complutensian text, while some selected from both, and availed themselves also of other sources. The materials made use of by Erasmus and the Complutensian editors were exceedingly imperfect. Their manuscripts were few in number, and comparatively of modern date and little value. They wanted the best and most ancient manuscripts; all the oriental versions also, with the Gothic and Slavonic; and although they did possess a Latin translation, it was not the Italic. They wanted also the works of the Greek fathers, of whom Erasmus in his second edition mentions only Athanasius, Nazianzen, and Theophylact; and indeed the copies of the fathers which they did possess abounded with errors.

<sup>a</sup> This edition takes its name from the printer, who is celebrated for the beauty of his impressions.

They were also unacquainted with the proper method of using even the imperfect helps within their reach. They had not established any fixed laws of criticism. Hence it is that Erasmus, in his fourth edition, inserted readings taken from the Complutensian text, in the place of those which he had before introduced into his third. The accuracy of this text is suspected, and on good grounds ; although it may be difficult to say how far its inaccuracy extends. It is plain, that in some places the editors altered and interpolated against the authority of their own manuscripts, and that they were too much attached to the Vulgate version. So also was Erasmus, who in his last edition yielded to the clamours of his adversaries, and made alterations on the doubtful authority of the Complutensian edition. Since the time of these editors about five hundred Greek manuscripts had been discovered, all of which were unknown to them ; and a more enlarged view of the subject has greatly improved the ability of critics to employ these materials to greater advantage. For these and other reasons, it would be idle to suppose that they ought to be implicitly followed.

The author then proceeds to show that the editions of Stephens also are not to be relied on, and that as works of criticism they are of little authority. He gives an account of the manuscripts used by that celebrated editor, and considers his  $\beta'$  as the same with the Cambridge manuscript, Beza's account of which is, he thinks, erroneous.

Beza's New Testament of 1559 is the text of Stephens' fourth edition ; his subsequent publications were compiled by himself. He had better helps than his predecessors, among which may be found the Cambridge and Clermont manuscripts, the Syriac version, and in some books of the New Testament the Arabic. But Beza did not make a thorough use of them, and Wetstein has shown in his Prolegomena that he cannot be vindicated from the charge of negligence. He has expressed his approbation of readings not introduced by him into the text ; and sometimes he has introduced readings from one version or manuscript only, and sometimes even from conjecture.

The Elzevir, or received text, which made its appearance in 1624, is not founded on manuscripts, but follows the third or fourth edition of Stephens, except in about one hundred places, in most of which it follows Beza. Where it differs from him, the authority by which it is governed is uncertain.

The received text then is founded upon those of Beza and Stephens, the former of whom followed the latter, with the exception of some places altered according to his own pleasure and without sufficient authority. Stephens pursued the track of Erasmus, except in a very few places and in the Apocalypse, where he preferred the Complutensian readings. Erasmus compiled his text, as he could, from a very small number of manuscripts, and those rather modern, without any other helps except the Vulgate interpolated, and inaccurate editions of a few of the fathers.

From the above sketch it is abundantly evident, that the sanction of the received text by no means determines the correctness of readings. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries about twenty editions were printed, no two of which entirely agreed, as each editor corrected and altered the text according to his own judgment, acting on the testimony before him. Through the diligence of critics it has been proved, that the oldest manuscripts and versions, and also the quotations in the fathers, differ in words and phrases, and sometimes in sentences, while they agree in important and fundamental truths. Nor in the former is uncertainty the necessary consequence; but some are shown to be certainly preferable, others probably so, and those which require further investigation, a few perhaps excepted, of little moment.

## SECTION II.

This section states the design which the author had in view in preparing his edition.

His intention was, to collect in a small compass the critical apparatus which lay dispersed in various works, and to prepare an edition of the Greek Testament which should contain

a text freed from considerable errors, accompanied by such helps as might facilitate interpretation ; to exhibit the more important various readings, and the authorities on which they are supported, together with the judgment of the editor respecting them, expressed with perspicuity, and at the same time briefly and with modesty.

The utility of such a work for students of theology is unquestionable. For although an intimate acquaintance with criticism is by no means necessary for every clergyman, yet every one ought to be guarded against such errors as prevent an accurate knowledge and proper use of scripture : and this does certainly require some acquaintance with it. Nothing gives greater acuteness, or tends more thoroughly to prepare the mind for interpretation than criticism. Many places, doubtless, corrupted in the common editions, cannot be correctly understood without it. Many also have given rise to controversies of which a clergyman ought not to be ignorant, as, for example, those connected with the true readings in Acts xx. 28. 1 Tim. iii. 16. 1 John v. 7 ; but, in order to form a sound opinion respecting such places, it is necessary to begin by examining others which are of less importance. To all this it may be added, that a critical collection of various readings must exhibit many valuable expositions of antiquity.

I. The first object which Griesbach had in view was, to present his readers with a text as correct as possible. Every reading of any moment which might appear preferable to the received, is placed either in the text or the inner margin.—He does not presume that his edition is not susceptible of improvement. Far from it. That it is so, is clearly evident from what follows. A vast number of manuscripts have been collected by critics, some of which have been examined in particular places only, or in a hasty manner ; whereas, if the examination had been complete, and the results fully made known, many readings which are now in the inner margin, would probably have been placed in the text. The ancient versions do not afford a critic all the aid that might be obtained from them ; a Syriac edition from the best manuscripts is a desideratum ; the Armen-

ian is suspected of varying from the best copies, and of being adapted to a more modern Greek text ; of the Sahidic and Jerusalem-Syriac, fragments merely have been published ; the Slavonic manuscripts ought to be carefully examined, also those of the Old Latin version. All the Greek fathers should be examined, as Origen is in the *Symbolæ Criticæ*. The origin, the primitive characteristics, and the changes of each recension, have not been sufficiently investigated ; nor indeed can this be done, until further extracts shall have been made from the fathers : when, therefore, different readings occur in different recensions nearly of the same antiquity, it is almost impossible to determine which are genuine. In the best manuscripts, interpolations, the origin of which is very difficult to be explained, require the diligence and acumen of future critics. These considerations illustrate the extreme difficulty of procuring a text absolutely perfect.—He remarks, further, that the collections of Mill, Wetstein and others are imperfect ;—that they occasionally ascribe to manuscripts, versions, and fathers, readings which do not exist in them, which he professes to know from personal examination ;—that later editors have corrected errors of former, and later still will correct those into which their predecessors had fallen ; and this, not by following any one manuscript, but by investigating the primitive readings of each class.

II. It entered into the editor's design, to note those readings which, although not preferred by him, he considered as of equal authority with those retained, or nearly so with those preferred ; those also which, if inferior, are not to be despised, or which with some colour of truth might seem probable to other critics. These he has separated from the mass, and appropriated to them descriptive marks, after the example of Bengel.

III. It was his intention also to subjoin a suitable collection of various readings, such as appeared to him most worthy of notice. They are of the following character :—Such as are not improbable ;—such as may assist in distinguishing the genuine reading from interpolations ;—such as may elucidate the history of the Greek text, and aid in discovering the cha-

racter of ancient recensions and remarkable classes ;—such as are found in many valuable books, or have crept into some editions, or have remarkably changed the sense, or may illustrate the forms of speech employed by the sacred writers. Of these he has not designedly omitted one, although he freely grants, that some not unworthy of attention may have escaped his notice, as must be the case in every attempt to reduce within a small compass such an immense collection of various readings. He then gives a view of his plan more in detail, with the names of the authors and collators whom he has examined. For the benefit of younger students, he has introduced a few specimens of conjecture. <sup>a</sup> Readings, which may be classed in the list which follows, he has omitted. Such as are found in but few manuscripts, and those of the more modern date ;—such as are evidently taken from parallel places in the Gospels, or have crept into the text from lectionaries ;—such as refer to orthography, particularly of proper names, or to the order of the words, except in places where the order affects the sense, or the authority of a word, or where the best manuscripts agree in a different order from the received ;—also, unusual forms of words, which forms frequently occur in the most ancient manuscripts ;—the article ;—the participles *λεγων* and *παραγενεσις* ;—and very many words, which are often commuted in manuscripts. In these cases he has omitted the various readings, unless they occurred in very many manuscripts, or in some of the more valuable, or else certain causes existed for remarking a difference of reading, which would otherwise be of no moment. Some readings, which are found very often, are only noticed at their first occurrence.

IV. Although the author did not intend his work to su-

a See, for example, Acts vii. 14, where, to remove a difficulty, Beza conjectures *πάντες* to be the true reading, instead of *πέντε*. But, as Krebs has remarked, this would be a solecism, as grammatical correctness would require *πάσαις*. It is to be regretted that Griesbach should have admitted any conjectures bearing on fundamental doctrine, and he is certainly to be censured for having allowed a place to the conjectural reading *θεοῦ* for *θεὸς* in John i. 1, of the Sicilian Crellius.

persede the use of former editions, which ought to be consulted by those who apply themselves to criticism, or wish thoroughly to investigate the authority and true reading of a text; yet he did expect it to supply in some measure the want of them.

V. Lastly: it was not so much his object to augment and correct the collection of readings made by his predecessors, as to make a proper use of them.

### SECTION III.

In this section Griesbach presents a view of the more important critical observations and rules by which he was governed.

In examining various readings, the internal goodness is to be regarded as well as the weight and consent of testimony. Internal goodness is determined by the fact, that a particular reading suits the manner, style, scope and other circumstances of the author; or by this, that it can be shown to be probable that all others have sprung from it. In applying this latter criterion, we must keep in mind the general causes which lead transcribers into error, and also the particular causes which affect transcribers of the New Testament, and especially that arising from the difference of its style from that of classic Greek. From that canon of criticism which prefers the reading which will account for the origin of the others with the greatest facility, the following rules, among others are deduced.

1. A shorter reading is preferable to a longer and more verbose, unless destitute of ancient and weighty authority. The reason is, that transcribers have always been more disposed to add to the text than to omit what belongs to it, and it is more likely that incidental circumstances should give rise to additions than to omissions. He goes on to show particularly in what cases either is to be preferred.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Those readings which are evidently glosses on the text, although they are afterwards mentioned by Griesbach, very properly come under this rule. Comp. John iii. 6, where, after the words *σάρξ* *ιστι*, one Greek manuscript,

2. The more difficult and obscure reading is superior to one extremely plain. <sup>a</sup>

3. The harsher reading, that for instance which is elliptical, or which contains a Hebraism or a solecism, is preferable to the smoother. <sup>b</sup>

4. The less usual to the more common.

5. The less emphatic phraseology to the contrary, unless the context and design of the writer require emphasis. <sup>c</sup>

*a prima manu*, and some other authorities add, ὅτι ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς ἐγεννήθη; and after πνεῦμα ἐστι, the words ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐστιν. In Eph. i. 6, after ἡγαπημένω, the Clermont manuscript, *a prima manu*, and three others written in uncial letters, with several of the versions and fathers, read ὑιῶ αὐτοῦ. In Col. ii. 11, τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν is wanting in ABCD (the last *a prima manu*), and three other manuscripts in uncial characters, besides most of the ancient versions and fathers; and it seems to be an addition to the text, introduced in order to explain τοῦ σώματος τῆς σαρκός. So also in 2 Peter i. 10, after σπουδάσατε, several manuscripts and versions read, ἵνα διὰ τῶν καλῶν (ὑμῶν) ἔργων βεβαίαν ὑμῶν τὴν κλῆσιν καὶ ἐκλογὴν ποιῆσθε, and in Gal. v. 8, a few introduce θεού as explanatory of καλοῦντος. It is unnecessary to multiply instances of this kind, which are of very frequent occurrence.

*a* Thus, for instance, in John vii. 8, he considers οὐκ ἀναβαίνω as preferable to οὐπω, although this is the reading of some manuscripts and many versions. Upon the same principle, ἀντῶν in Luke ii. 22, is better than αὐτοῦ or αὐτῆς, for both of which authority may be adduced. But it is necessary to guard against an extravagant application of this rule, as a reading is certainly not to be suspected because it is easy. In Matt. xix. 17, the received text has, τί με λέγεις ἀγαθὸν; οὐδεὶς ἀγαθός, εἰ μὴ εἰς, ὁ Θεός. This reading is probably the best, while that admitted by Griesbach is hardly intelligible, τί με ἐρωτᾷς περὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ; εἰς ἐστιν ὁ ἀγαθός. Besides, this reading looks very like a gloss, written on the margin by some early transcriber, in whose copy the ἀγαθὲ of v. 16, (the authority of which is doubtful,) had been lost.

*b* The harsher reading ἐσκυλμένοι in Matt. ix. 36, is to be preferred to the smoother ἐκλελυμένοι. The same passage may be adduced to illustrate the next rule.

*c* Comp. Gal. vi. 15, where ἐστιν is probably the genuine reading, in place of which the more emphatic ἐσχύει has been introduced.

6. That reading is to be preferred, which conveys a sense seeming at first incorrect, but upon careful examination proved to be true. <sup>a</sup>

7. Readings which may be traced to an inclination of transcribers to introduce terminations which they had just written or were about to write, are of no authority; nor those which arise from connected words beginning with the same syllable or letter.

8. When several readings occur of the same place, that is to be esteemed the best, which may be called the medium from which all the others may be shown to have originated.

9. Those readings are to be rejected which it is admitted were introduced into the text from the commentaries of fathers or old scholiasts. Although the more modern copies chiefly have been injured by interpolations, yet there is no manuscript, however ancient, that is entirely free from glosses; and many have flowed from the commentaries and catenae of the fathers written on the margin. Still the rule is to be applied with great caution; and it is always to be recollected, that the agreement of a manuscript with scholia, will by no means prove it to have been corrupted by the scholia, as the agreement may have sprung from other causes.

10. Those readings which have arisen in lectionaries, and add or remove or alter a passage, whether to introduce the lesson or to diminish difficulties, are to be rejected. But here the same caution must be exercised as in the former rule.

11. Lastly: those are to be condemned which have found their way into Greek copies from the Latin version. This rule, which is very sound and correct, has been greatly abused

<sup>a</sup> This rule is illustrated by John i. 28, where *Βηθανία*, the true reading, has been displaced in many manuscripts, versions, and fathers, to make room for *Βηθαβαρά*. This has arisen from supposing that Bethany cannot be the place meant, because it was near Jerusalem; as if there could not be two or more towns of the same name. Comp. Michaelis, Part I. Chap. x. Sect. iii. Vol. II. pp. 399. ss. It is probable, that the difference between the Hebrew text of Exod. xii. 40, and the reading of the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Septuagint, may be accounted for on the same principle. A supposed difficulty seems to have given rise to the latter.

by some learned men, who, whenever they discovered a reading differing from that of the common mass of books, and agreeing with the Latin version, immediately inferred that the manuscript containing it latinized. But to prove such interpolation, other marks are necessary beside mere consent.

After giving these rules, with two or three others, which are here passed over, to ascertain the internal goodness of a reading, Griesbach examines on what the authority of testimonies is supported. There must be *weight* and *consent*.

The weight of testimony is determined partly by age, and partly by other favourable circumstances. The age is not to be inferred simply or principally from that of the parchments. It is the antiquity of the text, and not of the transcriber, which is important; and this is ascertained by its frequent agreement with other witnesses, particularly versions and fathers whose age is well known. There are manuscripts, the text of which is composed sometimes of ancient and sometimes of more modern readings, and it is necessary to examine them with caution, and not to infer the high antiquity of their text from a few readings. Further, a manuscript may be of great antiquity and excellence, and yet in certain places it may be corrupted by lectionaries or by the Latin version; still, in those parts where there is no reason to suspect any corruption, it may have great weight. Although the learning and ability of a transcriber, and the fact of his having used a good and ancient copy, are circumstances which ought to carry with them great authority; yet it is evidently necessary to apply them with no small care. It is the character of the copy alone which generally assists in determining the question, from what manuscript it was transcribed; then again, the manuscript, although old, may have been corrupted, and where it is so, the transcriber's fidelity is of no importance. —The errors of a transcriber are readily distinguishable from the original readings, by separating those peculiar to the manuscript from others which it has in common with many manuscripts.

With respect to the consent of testimonies, it is important

to remark, that this must not be identified with the exhibition of the same reading by a great number ; it is necessary that they be really different witnesses. There are above a hundred manuscripts of the gospels, which, being derived from one source, agree in almost every syllable, with the exception of such readings as are caused by errors of copyists, and others arising from peculiar causes. Hence then the necessity of distributing testimonies into classes.

The author informs us in his preface, that his plan of distinguishing from each other the different recensions of the Greek text, which from the commencement of the third century at least have existed,—of separating as far as possible the primitive readings of each recension from later interpolations,—of distributing manuscripts, versions, and fathers, into different classes according to the difference of the recension which each one followed,—of reckoning all the witnesses of one class, whether many or few, as one witness only,—and of attributing to each recension its legitimate importance,—was suggested by Bengel and commenced by Semler. In his *Prolegomena* he proceeds as follows.

Recensions of the text of the New Testament exist, as also of many Latin and Greek works. The want of proper records makes it impossible to trace the history of these recensions. A comparison of Origen with Tertullian and Cyprian proves, that at least in the beginning of the third century there were two. That which after Clement of Alexandria and Origen, the Alexandrians used, may be called the Alexandrine ; the other, which from the time of Tertullian was made use of in Africa, Italy, Gaul, and other occidental countries, the Western, although its use was not confined to the western part of the empire. From each of these recensions, in the gospels, (to which the author confines his remarks,) differs the text of A, which agrees sometimes with the Alexandrine recension, sometimes with the Western, sometimes with both together, but very often varies from both, and approximates somewhat nearer the received text. With this manuscript others are kindred, that are marked E F G H S, which however have very

many modern readings, and are also much more closely allied to the received text. All these (A E F G H S,) seem to agree in the gospels, so far as imperfect collations enable us to ascertain, with the fathers of the latter part of the fourth century, and of the fifth and sixth centuries in Greece, Asia Minor, and that vicinity : this may be called the Constantinopolitan recension, because it was most generally used in that patriarchate, and there widely disseminated by means of numberless copies. From it came the Slavonic version. The Syriac version, as we have it in printed editions, is not like any of these recensions ; but neither is it altogether unlike any. In many of its readings it agrees with the Alexandrine, in more with the Western, and in some with the Constantinopolitan, yet at the same time it rejects most of those which found their way into this recension in later ages. It seems therefore to have been at different periods again and again revised, according to Greek manuscripts evidently different.

In addition to manuscripts which exhibit one of these ancient recensions, some contain a text compiled from the readings of two or three. This is probably the case also with the Ethiopic, Armenian, Sahidic, and Jerusalem-Syriac versions.

That the observations already made may be the more useful in assisting the reader to form an estimate of readings either belonging to one recension or common to more, the author lays down a few premonitions.

1. It is necessary for a critic to be well acquainted with the characteristics of a recension, with whatever makes it more or less valuable. The Alexandrine acts the grammarian ; the Western the expositor, and, by no means unfrequently without success.

2. No recension is to be found unaltered, in any manuscript now extant. The causes of this are briefly but clearly stated. Yet errors in one manuscript are not to be ascribed to the whole recension.

3. It is of very great importance to discover the primitive reading of each recension. This is to be done by comparing all the manuscripts, fathers, and versions of the same recen-

sion, and by selecting from among their readings that which is most strongly recommended, both by testimonies of higher antiquity and by internal marks of goodness.

4. Before the genuineness of one reading among many can be determined, we must examine to what recension any one is to be referred. The inquiry is not,—how many manuscripts now existing agree in any reading; but,—what ancient recensions originally exhibited that reading: for all the testimonies of the same recension are to be regarded as one, and therefore two or three manuscripts may be of as much weight as a hundred others, because some recensions are preserved in a few only, others in a great number. Greek manuscripts were but seldom written in the Western provinces after the fourth century, and in Egypt after the sixth; but in the patriarchate of Constantinople, the Greek monks were indefatigable in multiplying copies of the New Testament until the fifteenth.

5. If all the old recensions originally agreed in any reading, it is undoubtedly the true one, even if afterwards another should have been introduced into a multitude of more modern manuscripts.

6. If all the recensions did not originally agree in the same reading, that which has the support of the most ancient is the best, unless there be special circumstances to the contrary, arising from the character of the recension.

7. From the consent of the Alexandrine recension with the Western, it is concluded on very good grounds, that a reading common to both is by far the most ancient, and indeed, if supported by its internal goodness, genuine. If it be destitute of this goodness, the want must be balanced against the consent of the two recensions.

8. If the Alexandrine agrees with the Constantinopolitan, while the Western differs from both, we are to examine whether the reading which has the sanction of the Western be of a class in which the errors of this last recension are frequent, and at the same time the internal marks of truth or error must be carefully considered.

9. In the same way must we judge of readings in which the

Western recension agrees with the Constantinopolitan against the Alexandrine.

10. If any recension exhibit a reading varying from those of the others, it is not the number of individual witnesses, but the internal marks of goodness, on which the preference must be founded. No matter how few the witnesses, provided it can be shown that the reading was one in which all the old recensions originally agreed, and there be no special circumstances, arising from the character of the recensions, to weigh against it.

It is to be remarked further, that the Alexandrine manuscript follows one recension in the Gospels, another in St. Paul's epistles, and a third in the Acts and Catholic epistles.—The Vatican, in the former part of St. Matthew, agrees with the Western; in the last chapters and in the three other Evangelists, with the Alexandrine.—In forming an opinion on the consent of testimonies, the critic should carefully attend to mixed manuscripts of this kind.

#### SECTION IV.

This section explains the author's mode of arranging his work, and the critical marks with which the text is provided.

1. The received text is made the basis.
2. Whatever alterations have been made are scrupulously indicated.
3. Every word and syllable of the received text is printed and in one uniform character. Whatever alterations are suggested, are pointed out by marks affixed to the received text. If the received reading has been stricken out of the text, it is printed in the inner margin in the same type as the text in general.—The inner margin is the space between the text and the body of readings with the authority for each, and is included within two lines.
4. Whatever is substituted for the received reading, whether it be admitted into the text or introduced into the inner margin, is printed in smaller type.

5. Nothing is altered on conjecture, nothing without the authority of witnesses, namely, manuscripts, versions, fathers.

6. As some readings varying from the received are undoubtedly to be regarded as genuine, others, although not certainly genuine, yet as equal to the received or nearly so, and others, although less probable, yet worthy of consideration; these different grades of probability are distinctly indicated.

(1) Those that in the author's judgment are most certainly spurious, are omitted in the text and placed in the inner margin, this mark + being substituted in the former, and in the latter prefixed to the displaced words.

(2) Such as ought probably to be stricken out, yet not certainly, are retained in the text with this mark = prefixed. <sup>a</sup>

(3) If the authority for striking out is less sufficient than in the former case, the reading, which ought *perhaps* to be removed, is retained in the text with the mark —.

7. Those readings which seem to have been improperly omitted in the received text are inserted, but in smaller type, with the mark # or #: or + prefixed, of which the first intimates the greatest degree of probability, the second a less, and the third the least.

8. With respect to those emendations of the sacred text which are produced by commuting one or more words for others, the following observations must be attended to.

(1) A reading undoubtedly genuine, yet different from the

a The reader will observe the extreme caution of Griesbach not to alter the received text without reasons most satisfactory to himself. Yet I cannot but think, that the principle here stated is not perfectly in unison with that laid down in the second Section, I, where he avows it to be his object to present "his readers with a text as correct as possible, (textum a mendis quantum fieri posset purgatissimum exhibere studui.") If the probability is on the side of striking out certain readings, it seems plain, that upon this latter principle, they ought to have been stricken out. The author has been led to the result expressed above, by making the received text his basis; and it is evident, that his own text does sometimes contain readings which he himself considered as probably spurious. Compare also below, No. 8, (3,) from which it appears that a reading believed to be inferior to some other, may remain in the text, and that which is supposed preferable, may appear in smaller characters in the inner margin.

received, is introduced into the text without any mark, but in smaller characters ; and that which has hitherto been the received reading is placed, in larger characters and without any mark, in the inner margin.

(2) If in favour of a reading thus removed from the text considerable authority can be adduced, yet by no means sufficient to determine its genuineness ; to the received reading, which is placed in the inner margin, the mark  $\approx$  is attached.

(3) A received reading, to which some other is of equal authority, or which, although inferior to some other, is still not determined to be spurious, remains in the text with the mark  $\approx$  prefixed. The reading which is considered equal or preferable to the received, is put in smaller characters in the inner margin, accompanied by the same mark.

(4) When authority of some weight can be urged in defence of a reading, which, at the same time, is decidedly inferior to the received, the former is put in the inner margin, in smaller characters, with the mark  $\approx$  which is also prefixed to the received reading retained in the text.

9. When the text is susceptible of a punctuation worthy of notice, which varies from the received, it is indicated by a \*. See Matt. iii. 3 ; iv. 7, 24 ; xix. 28.

10. The lessons read in the Greek church, or the anagnosmata, are enclosed in brackets.

The text of Griesbach's New Testament is divided into paragraphs, and printed in continuous order ; the chapters are marked at the top, and the verses, (each of which begins with a capital letter,) on the side.

#### SECTION V.

As the object of this section is merely to show in what respects the second edition differs from the first, it is unnecessary to give an outline of it.

## SECTION VI.

Here the author explains the various marks and abbreviations employed in his work, whether in the text, the inner margin, or the notes. Several will be found already illustrated in Section IV. ; an explanation of a few others of principal importance and frequent occurrence is here subjoined. If the reader wishes to see them all in one view, let him consult Griesbach himself.

" This mark indicates the extent to which the immediately preceding mark, or small Latin letter referring also to the notes, applies. —: This is used when the application of the mark is more limited than that of the Latin letter. Both may be illustrated by referring to Matt. iii. 12, *συνάζει τὸς εἰτοῦ εἴς αὐτοῦ: εἰς τὴν ἀποθήκην,* " where the force of the letter ε applies to all the following words, while the = is limited to αὐτοῦ.

The two preceding marks belong to the text, the following to the notes.

|| This is employed to intimate, that the various readings to which it is prefixed belong to the same words of the text, to which the various readings related, which had already been noted.

= This indicates that the words of the text, which are comprehended within the Latin letter and the mark ", or which the inner margin contains with the mark + prefixed, are omitted in the enumerated manuscripts ; and + denotes that the words which follow it are added in the manuscripts cited. If no Greek word follow, the meaning is, that in the manuscripts enumerated after the mark, the reading is the same as that introduced in the text in smaller characters.

\* This signifies that the manuscript, to the appropriate mark of which it is subjoined, contained the reading referred to *a prima manu*, but that subsequently it was changed into another ; and \*\* denotes that the reading occurs in the manuscript from emendation, or may be found in the margin.

## SECTION VII.

This section contains a list of Greek manuscripts referred to. I. Those written in uncial characters; II. Those in smaller character; III. Evangelistaria<sup>a</sup>; IV. Manuscripts used in preparing St. Matthew's Gospel; and lastly, a list of Sclavonian Manuscripts communicated to him by Dobrosky.

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This brief outline of Griesbach's principles and views, as exhibited in his *Prolegomena*, is given for the information of the reader who wants time or opportunity to consult the original work. It must be evident, that to prepare an edition of the Greek Testament under the guidance of them, must indeed be a task equal if not superior in difficulty to that of Adamantius himself. Whatever may be said of the result, it is impossible to question the laboriousness of the undertaking. In the one all have acquiesced, but not a few have been dissatisfied with the other.

The first reflection which must strike an examiner of the author's system, is the extreme difficulty of determining to what recension each manuscript, version, or reading taken from the work of any father, does certainly belong.<sup>b</sup> And

a The Evangelistaria contain the Gospels as read in the daily service of the ancient Greek church.

b I find that Professor Lee has made the same remark in his *Prolegomena* to Bagster's Polyglot. Prol. VI. § xi. p. 69. I cannot agree with him, however, in considering the whole subject of recensions as an ingenious fabrication, devised with the view of involving a matter of no great difficulty in utter darkness, and am surprised that he should have expressed himself in such unqualified language. "Ingeniosæ" (says he), illæ familiarum fabricæ, uti mihi videtur, in unum tantummodo finem feliciter exstructæ sunt; ut, scilicet, rem in seipsa haud valde obscuram, tenebris Ægyptiacis obscuriorum reddant; editoresque eos, qui se omnia rem acu tetigisse putent, supra mortaliū labendi statum, nescio quantum, evehere." The reader is particularly referred to Schulz's edition of Griesbach's New Testament, of which some account is given at the end of this note, Preface p. xxxii—xxxv. While he gives his opinion that the doctrine of different recensions is not to be rejected, he candidly acknowledges that it ought to be more closely limited,

until this is done, there can be no such classification of the testimony as Griesbach has made, and by consequence no reasoning founded on the evidence afforded by any specific number of witnesses.

Another difficulty of no small magnitude is connected with a previous point, viz: that of settling the primitive readings in every authority, where so many circumstances, both designed and incidental, may have produced and propagated diversity.

A third consideration is perhaps of more importance than either of these. Allowing the existence of recensions, it may very reasonably be asked, has the number been definitely settled? If there be more than three, as Griesbach himself seems to suppose,<sup>a</sup> his procedure in determining the evidence from the testimony of three only is inadmissible. "If we suppose," says Laurence,<sup>b</sup> "the existence of five or six, but bring only three to a comparison, it is manifest that we cannot possibly determine to which of the five or six any

and more sparingly and cautiously applied, than has been done by Griesbach and his followers, lest it should result in a mere mechanical process. He plainly intimates that there never was any authority by which the characteristics of the Alexandrine, Western and Constantinopolitan recensions could be determined, that no manuscript or version uniformly exhibits a text in such a clearly defined state as must assign it to some particular recension, but, on the contrary, even the most ancient show some marks of other recensions than those to which they have been assigned; that it is scarcely possible to show, in any respect, a particular character appropriate to any of the recensions so called, and in what way any one may be distinguished from the rest; that there are no settled grounds whereby to determine the number and character of particular readings necessary to constitute any new recension; and that none of the documents of the various recensions exhibit those recensions in an unadulterated condition, but more or less in a state of corruption and confusion. While therefore it is right to distribute the various manuscripts and versions into classes, on account of their agreement or disagreement in a greater or less degree, yet it is necessary to distinguish between various readings of fortuitous origin, and such as have been introduced intentionally and with some particular design. Of the former class the number undoubtedly does greatly preponderate.

<sup>a</sup> See his *Curæ in Epistolas Paulinas*, 1777, and Preface to his edition of the Gospels, published the same year, as quoted by Laurence, *ubi sup.* pp. 18, ss.

<sup>b</sup> *Ib.* p. 50.

manuscript properly belongs ; but merely that it possesses a closer affinity to one, than to the other two, of the three compared.” And, on the other hand, if the existence of even three should be doubtful, the author’s conclusions must be in a great measure insecure. And that this is doubtful is the opinion of the acute and perspicacious writer just quoted. “ Instead of establishing five or six classes, I confess that I see not good ground for the admission of even three. I do not however deny that these, or more than these, exist, because their existence is possible ; but I contend, that it has not been sufficiently proved.”<sup>a</sup>

Dr. Laurence’s<sup>b</sup> pamphlet is well worthy of attention in reference to this subject. He possesses nothing of that castigating and bitter spirit, which shows itself in some writers on criticism, whose works may be said to be “ *plena quidem eruditionis, ac non æque plena humanitatis.* ”<sup>c</sup> He writes with the candour of a scholar and liberal minded man, allowing Griesbach the praise of being a modest and unassuming and most able critic, and in the outset vindicating his orthodoxy on the subject of the divinity of Christ, by an appropriate quotation from his preface to the apostolical writings published in 1775, in which he publicly professes and calls God to witness, that he has no doubt of the truth of this doctrine, substantiated as it is by so many and evident proofs from scripture.<sup>d</sup> It is on good grounds that this able writer questions the correctness of

<sup>a</sup> P. 92.

<sup>b</sup> Now Archbishop of Cashel.

<sup>c</sup> This remark is made by Morus in reference to the controversy between Heinsius and Salmasius on the Hellenistic language. *Hermen. Novi. Test.* vol. i. p. 223.

<sup>d</sup> As it is probable, that neither the publication of Griesbach, nor the work of Archbishop Laurence is accessible to most of my readers, and as the avowal is made in very express language, I shall here introduce it, being indebted to the latter author for the quotation, pp. 3, s. “ *Interim uni tamen dogmati eique palmario, doctrinæ scilicet de vera Jesu Christi divinitate, nonnihil a me detractum esse videri posset nonnullis. Quare ut iniquas suspiciones omnes, quantum in me est, amoliar, et hominibus malevolis calumniandi ansam præripiam, primum publice, profiteor atque Deum testor, neutiquam me de veritate istius dogmatis dubitare. Atque sunt profecto tam multa et luculenta argumenta et Scripturæ loca, quibus vera Deitas*

Griesbach's method of estimating the various readings of a manuscript by its departure from the received text; and he has shown, that the careful and laborious German critic is to be "suspected" not indeed of want of fidelity, but of occasional "inadvertency."

Griesbach's scheme is more particularly examined in the large work of the Rev. Frederick Nolan before referred to. According to this learned writer, Griesbach's Western and Alexandrine recensions are, properly speaking, the Egyptian and Palestine; the Constantinopolitan or Byzantine is considered as the same by both these authors. Nolan treads partly in the steps of Griesbach and partly in those of Bengel. In part also he is led by his own conjectures, which are plainly destitute of any foundation. He admits three recensions or "principal classes of Greek manuscripts, one of which agrees with the Italic translation contained in the Brescia manuscript, another with that contained in the Vercelli manuscript, and a third with that contained in the Vulgate." Inquiry, &c. p. 61. He supposes the Palestine text as amended by Origen, to have been corrupted by Eusebius of Cæsarea, and published by him in this state: and maintains that the Coptic, Syriac, Ethiopic and some other versions, were also corrupted from the text of Eusebius, and therefore are of little or no authority. See pp. 26, ss. A charge of wilful corruption, and in texts which have the strongest and most direct bearing on some of the vital doctrines of Christianity, (such for instance, as 1 John v. 7. 1 Tim. iii. 16. Acts xx. 28. See p. 27,) ought not to be advanced without the clearest and most irrefragable proof. But it is altogether destitute of support. Indeed its very extravagance is its own confutation. For it is not to be supposed that so distinguished a man as Eusebius would desire

Christo vindicatur, ut ego quidem intelligere vix possem, quomodo, concessa Scripturæ sacræ divina auctoritate et admissis justis interpretandi regulis, dogma hoc in dubium a quoquam vocari possit. In primis locus ille, John i. 1-3, tam perspicuus est atque omnibus exceptionibus major, ut neque interpretum neque criticorum audacibus conatibus unquam everti atque veritati defensoribus eripi possit."

to publish a mutilated text; and it is utterly incredible that he could have done so, without exciting the attention of Christian scholars, especially at a period when Arianism began to prevail in the church.

If the reader wishes to see this bold criticism examined and refuted, he is referred to the very learned *Prolegomena to Bagster's Polyglot* by Professor Lee, *Prol. VI.* pp. 66, ss. For a fuller account of Mr. Nolan's book, and for other theories on the subject of recensions and classifications of manuscripts, see Horne's *Introduction*, *Vol. II.* pp. 90, &c. and *App.* pp. 155, ss.

A cheap and neat edition of the Greek Testament is that of Dr. Knapp. *Novum Testamentum Græce. Recognovit atque insignioris lectionem varietates et argumentorum notationes subjunxit Georgius Christianus Knappius.* *Edit. Quart. Hal. 1829.* This edition takes notice of the more remarkable various readings, and gives brief outlines of the subjects, at the bottom of the page. It is highly praised for the accuracy of its punctuation. It is in two vols. sm. 8vo. frequently bound in one.

In the same year, Dr. Vater published his edition, founded on the Greek text of Griesbach and Knapp. It is in one large 8vo. volume of 835 pages, and is a very useful work. It contains, besides the Greek text, the principal various readings and their authorities, with exegetical notes, which, although short, are often satisfactory. At the end four indexes are added; the first geographical and historical; and the second of difficult Greek words and such as occur but seldom; the third of critical, and the fourth of exegetical helps. The last contains a list of commentators, chiefly German, on each book of the New Testament.

An account of Dr. Schulz's edition of Griesbach's New Testament shall bring this long note to a termination. I am indebted for it to a learned friend and indefatigable scholar, the Rev. William R. Whittingham, A. M., who prepared it originally as a paper for the Biblical Literature Association.

Notice of "Novum Testamentum Græce. Textum ad fidem codicum, Versionum, et Patrum recensuit, et Lectionis Varietatem adjecit J. J. Griesbachius.—Vol. I. Evangelia complectens. Editionem tertiam emendatam et auctam, curavit D. Schulz. 8vo. Berolini. 1827."

This is a compact volume, in a style of printing far superior to that of the generality of German books. As it has been sometime expected, as the very title indicates an attempt of no small magnitude, an enlargement and improvement of Griesbach's edition, and as it is in reality a valuable accession to the stock of Biblical literature, it is deserving of some short notice.

First, as to its history. The author states, (Pref. i—iv.) that four years before the appearance of this volume, he had been solicited to superintend a reimpression of the New Testament of Griesbach. He had declined the office, and used his endeavours to induce the celebrated Dr. Knapp to undertake it, whose smaller critical edition of the New Testament, in its several continually improved editions, so fully attested his competence. Knapp declined, and in his turn pressed it upon Schulz, who had devoted many years' attention to the studies necessary to qualify him for the task. Upon the death of Dr. Knapp, which occurred soon after, Schulz at length set seriously about the work. He had, however, previously to that event, received his friend's advice respecting the manner of conducting the edition, his opinion, on two sheets, which were printed in 1826, as a specimen, and his approbation of the general features of the plan, as exhibited in that specimen.

Secondly, respecting the plan of the work, it is proper to give some account of the measures taken to ensure correctness and completeness in the *reimpression* of Griesbach's edition ; the additions made to it, and the improvements on it.

I. Schulz's first endeavour was to secure any posthumous remains of Griesbach himself, that might afford assistance in

the correction and completion of his work. But his search for these was fruitless. His next object was to ascertain the correctness of Griesbach's references to authorities, by a new examination. With respect to the greater part of those relating immediately to manuscripts, however, this was impossible. Such as were accessible, were recollated with great care. The references to printed works, were almost all subjected to a re-examination, Schulz himself having bestowed much pains upon the collection of such works, while the rarer and more expensive were accessible to him in the Royal Library at Berlin.

II. In the enlargement of the work, Schulz has aimed at the use, after Griesbach's plan, of all the additional sources furnished during the thirty years which had elapsed since the publication of his last edition. The principal materials thus employed by him, are the following.

- (1) The fac-simile of the Alexandrine manuscript by Woide.
- (2) The fac-simile of the Cambridge manuscript by Kipling.
- (3) Sabatier's edition of the old Latin version, with the various readings of several ancient MSS.
- (4) Blanchini's Latin MSS. in his *Evangeliarium Quadruplex*.
- (5) Bentley's collation of the Vatican MS., which in many places differs considerably from that made by Birch, and which was first published at Oxford in 1799, as an Appendix to Woide's *New Testament from the Alexandrine MS.*; that is, the fac-simile above mentioned.
- (6) Barret's fac-simile of the Dublin Rescript MS. of the Gospel according to St. Matthew.
- (7) The collation of the Codex Cyprius, an uncial MS. of the eighth or ninth century, by A. Scholz, the traveller.
- (8) Pappelbaum's collation of a Berlin MS. of the eleventh century, containing portions of the gospels.
- (9) Birch's collation of some Greek MSS. published in his *Variantes Lectiones ad textum IV. evangeliorum*.
- (10) A few readings collected from five Paris MSS. previously uncollated, by A. Scholz.
- (11) The Rehdingeran MS. of the ante-Hieronymian Latin

version of the Gospels ; transcribed throughout by Schulz himself.

- (12) The Gothic version, published by Zahn, in 1805.
- (13) The fragments of the Gothic version published by Angelo Mai.
- (14) The fragments of the Sahidic version, published from Oxford MSS. by Ford, in an appendix to Woide's edition of the Alexandrine MS.
- (15) The fragments of the Basmurico-Coptic version, published by Engelbrecht in 1811.
- (16) The MSS. notes of C. B. Michaelis in his copy of Kuster's edition of Mill ; principally relating to the readings of the Syriac, Arabic, Persian and Ethiopic versions.
- (17) The Gronovian and Meermanian MSS., neither of them, however, of any great value, published by Dermont at Leyden, in his *collectanea critica in Nov. Test.* in 1825.

These several sources of additional critical matter, are as an aggregate, of very considerable value, and their careful use by Schulz must tend in no small degree to enhance the value of this new edition.

While bestowing sedulous attention upon this reimpression of the work of Greisbach, Schulz undertook also, with a view to its improvement, continually to consult all the principal editions both ancient and modern ; especially those of Stephens, Wetstein, Mill, Bengel, Birch, both of Matthæi's, that of Knapp, and both of Griesbach's, all which he declares were always open before him.

The result of this collation was the discovery of frequent errors in Griesbach's references or citations, which have been carefully corrected. Occasionally Schulz has been led to doubt the correctness of Griesbach's decisions, and to adopt opinions different from those of his author. In all such cases, the original readings of Griesbach have been retained, with the addition of such as Schulz would prefer ; and his reasons for the preference are given in notes in double brackets. All the additions from the supplementary critical apparatus used by Schulz, and all the additions which he has thought

proper to make from the sources partially used by Griesbach, which are very numerous, are similarly distinguished.

Besides these improvements in the substance of the work, others of great importance have been made in its external form and arrangement.

Griesbach's text was printed in double columns, while the notes, in a type but one degree smaller, extended across the page, without any break or other distinction between the notes, than that produced by the mark of reference to the text. Schulz has printed the text in large type, all across the page, without distinction, in the body of the print, of chapters and verses, other than a small blank between each verse, which begins with a capital letter; the numbers being given in the outer margin. The notes are printed in double columns, each note commencing a separate paragraph. In the text, the most minute attention has been paid to its typography, of which the details are given by Schulz, Pref. p. viii—xv. Griesbach's punctuation has been very much altered, the rule of giving as little punctuation as possible, recommended by Knapp and Buttman, having been adhered to. Passages where a difference of punctuation would alter the sense have generally been left unpointed. The asterisk used by Griesbach to indicate possible varieties of punctuation, has been retained, and in many places added. The accents and orthography have been scrupulously regulated according to the most approved modern principles. Names of men and places are commenced with capital letters, a distinction limited by Griesbach to verses. Parentheses are in general more sparingly used by Schulz than by Griesbach, (*e. g.* Mar. v. 28. Luc. ii. 2, 4, 23, 35.) although occasionally added by the former, (Luc. vii. 14.) The name and chapter of the book at the head of the page, are given in Latin, the former of which is in Greek in Griesbach's own editions.

In the critical apparatus, the aim of Schulz has been to make the references and citations as clear, and yet as brief as possible.

The references to the fathers have been made more explicit

and definite, and sometimes the book and chapter have been added, thus affording great additional facility to one who would verify them for himself, and examine their connection with the context, which is often of no small importance in determining the degree of authority which they may possess. The abbreviated references to MSS. authorities, &c. have been rendered more full, and much more uniform. Attention has been paid even to the capital initials, &c. which in references to the versions, is of considerable importance to prevent the possibility of mistake.

Schulz has added, with great care, references to the places of the Old Testament, parallel to others in the New, which parallels have frequently been sources of various readings. He occasionally alters Griesbach's arrangement of a note. Often he adds an opinion respecting the merits of a reading in a very few words, perhaps not more than one. The letters of reference to the notes have not been changed, the additional notes of Schulz having double letters. A number of other minor alterations, of a similar nature, have been made in the references and citations, and are, almost without exception, considerable improvements. Numerous abbreviations, generally very judicious, have been adopted, for the purpose of saving room.

With relation to accuracy of typography, this edition is deserving of the fullest confidence. All the sheets were twice corrected at Berlin, by a competent scholar, with a degree of diligence and accuracy much praised by Schulz. Two copies of each sheet were then sent by post to the editor, one of which he read in every part with the utmost care, the other he submitted, for the correction of the text alone, to his philological friends Passau, Schneider, and Pinsger, who carefully revised it, with a view principally to the correction of the accents and points.—All of these corrections were copied into both sheets, one of which Schulz retained, for the purpose of correcting the sheets by it a second time. After all this care, a sixth reading of the sheets, after they were printed, has produced 18 pages of *addenda et corrigenda*.

A full account of all these particulars respecting his edition,

with a statement of his reasons, occupy thirty pages of the preface.

Pp. xxx—lvi. contain copious and learned remarks on the criticism of the text in general, and particularly on Griesbach's system of recensions, and his method of correction.

Griesbach's Prolegomena are printed entire, with a few brief notes, distinguished from those of the author by double brackets ; and with some additions to the critical apparatus.

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#### NOTE VII.

THE principle of accommodation, which, in various degrees, has exercised an influence on the interpretation of scripture from a very early age, has within the last half century, been applied, and especially in Germany, with an extravagance that sets common sense and sound criticism alike at defiance. A reaction seems to have begun, and interpretation on true philosophical and Christian principles, which must ever be identified, is gradually making its way in the country, which is distinguished both for its sound philology, and for hypotheses connected with interpretation of scripture, the strangeness of which is only equalled by their utter want of any reasonable foundation.

Accommodation is known among writers on interpretation under various terms. It is called *συγκαράβασις*, condescensio, demissio, obsequium, &c. The author who employs it is said to speak *κατ' οἰκονομίαν*, or œconomically : that is to say, he accommodates his course of reasoning or remark, by a wise economy or arrangement, to the situation and character of those whose immediate benefit is intended. In points which have no connection with religion, the scriptures do generally represent the views of the age for which they were written ; and there seems to be no reason for supposing that the authors, with but few exceptions, entertained any other views. In such a collection of writings as that of the Old and New Testaments, would it not be unreasonable to expect opinions

in philosophy and science which are based on the system of Newton, and which, from what we see of the progressive character of human knowledge, it is evident could not have existed in the ages of antiquity, except by inspiration? It seems unnecessary to illustrate so plain a point. And why may we not apply the principle to other topics of the same general character? Why may it not be conceded, that on some unimportant matters, such as genealogical records, and points of chronology, the inspired writers adopted the prevailing opinions, or at least, would not disturb the minds of their readers, or call off their thoughts from the all-important subject of religious instruction, by correcting those opinions? In such cases, neither the religious character of the authors, nor the divine truths which they were inspired to teach, can possibly be affected.

Indeed, a comparison of different passages of scripture would seem to prove that such a concession is unavoidable. The difficulties of this kind, which have been urged by sceptical objectors to Christianity, and not only urged, but pressed beyond all reasonable bounds, may indeed, in most cases, be triumphantly solved. I do not know that any portions of scripture have been supposed to lie more open to such attacks, than those in St. Matthew and St. Luke, which contain our Lord's genealogy. And yet, to establish the objections which have been made to these portions, much must be assumed, which the Christian need not grant, and the sceptic cannot prove. In one particular, indeed, the case is of such a kind, that it seems to have a necessary bearing on the subject under consideration.

By comparing Luke iii. 36, with Gen. xi. 12, a discrepancy in the genealogical lists will be discovered. The Old Testament writer makes Arphaxad the father of Salah: the Evangelist, by introducing another name, makes Arphaxad the grandfather of Salah, the immediate son of Cainan. Although the word Cainan is indeed omitted in one important manuscript of the New Testament, yet the weight of evidence in favour of it is abundantly sufficient to determine its genuineness. This point, therefore, is indisputable. St. Luke agrees

with the reading as found in the Septuagint translation. Shall we therefore say, that this translation is here correct, and that all the other ancient versions, and the Hebrew original are wrong? and this, too, when we shall be obliged to maintain, according to that translation, that Cainan and Salah each lived 130 years before the birth of their respective sons, and each 330 afterwards; which is a strange coincidence and quite improbable. Or shall we not rather say, that, in an unimportant point, which could have no bearing on religion, St. Luke adopts the genealogy as it existed in the Septuagint version, which was in his time, and long after, in ordinary use among his readers? It is not improbable that the same principle should be applied in a few other instances.

But with regard to matters directly religious, or which have a direct bearing on religion, the case is far different. The Christian interpreter can admit no accommodation of sentiment here. It is true, that in a very few instances, there will be, even among conscientious expositors, a difference of opinion respecting the application of the principle. Candid men, with equal reverence for God's holy word, will differ in determining the points which have a direct bearing on religion, although not in themselves directly religious. But this by no means affects the principle itself. It only shows, that in some cases it is difficult to apply it, and leaves such cases to the varying judgments of different honest and devout minds.

In points of a religious nature, positive accommodation to error cannot possibly be allowed, consistently with the moral character of the teacher. It may indeed be, that even the holiest of inspired teachers may omit to inculcate truth, or may leave error without refutation. The cause may lie in the party addressed. He may be inadequate to comprehend and admit certain truths, and this inadequacy may arise merely from want of previous instruction, or from prejudices of education, or from obduracy and judicial blindness. Or, again, the religious object which the teacher wishes to advance, may make it inexpedient, and even positively mischievous, to impart some truths, which are of the very highest moment.

Illustrations of these remarks must immediately occur to the attentive and habitual reader of the Gospels. Our Lord tells his disciples, that he had "many things to say to them, but they could not bear them" at that time. John xvi. 12. He frequently urges them not to make public his character as Messiah. On one occasion he refuses to tell on what authority he acted. Matt xxi. 27. On another, he limits his instruction to the simple point of Jonah the prophet being a sign to the Jews, without informing his hearers, as he had done at a former time, wherein the similarity of the cases consisted. Comp. Matt. xvi. 4, with xii. 39, 40.—It is not required in a religious or inspired teacher, nor indeed would it be prudent or right, to shock the prejudices of his uninformed hearers, by inculcating truths which they are unprepared to receive. If he would reap a harvest, he must prepare the ground, before he attempts to sow the seed. Neither is it required of such an one to persist in inculcating religious instruction, after such evidence of its rejection as is sufficient to prove incurable obstinacy. Now it must be granted, that in most of these cases there is accommodation. The teacher omits either altogether or in part certain religious truths, and perhaps, truths of great importance, in accommodation to the incompetency and weakness of those whom he has to instruct.

Sometimes also there may be accommodation in the form in which religious truth is conveyed. This may be one reason for adopting the mode of instruction by parable, in order the more effectually to insinuate religious truth, when direct address would be inexpedient and perhaps hurtful. For the same reason does St. Paul adapt his language to the various classes of persons to whom he is writing. The figures and illustrations which he chooses in one epistle, are different from those which pervade another; and indeed even in the same letter, he judiciously varies his forms, as he has occasion to address different parties. The principle may be applied to explain the discrepancy which has been alleged, but not proved, to exist, between the same apostle and St. James on the subject of justification. Each teacher modifies the form and lan-

guage of his instruction so as to meet the particular errors of the persons, whose religious improvement he was desirous of advancing. It applies also to several of the prophecies of the Old Testament. The form in which they are conveyed is adapted to the views of those for whom they were first intended, or indeed it may be that which is most in unison with the prophet's own feelings. Hence, re-establishment in the promised land, and peaceful enjoyment of rest and happiness after the subjugation of enemies, is the form in which the spiritual blessings of the gospel are often represented. The one becomes a figure to illustrate the other. The same principle explains the use of symbols as means of communicating divine truth.

The form of instruction may sometimes modify the reasonings of a divine teacher. He may argue from the opinion of his hearers. This, I conceive, is the case in the instance cited by the author from Matt. xii. 27. "If I by Beelzebub cast out demons, by whom do your sons cast them out?" Our Lord cannot possibly refer to his own disciples, for they were of his party, and the calumny vented against him was also equally intended for them. He must mean the Pharisees' disciples. Nor can it be admitted, notwithstanding the representations made by Josephus and some of the fathers, that the Jews, either before or during the life time of Christ, were in the habit of casting out demons: for this would be conceding to them a miraculous power. Whether a real expulsion did occasionally take place or not, is of little consequence, as our Lord's language implies frequency. How is it possible then to avoid admitting, that he argues with the Pharisees on their own premises and not on the real facts of the case, unless we grant the habitual operation among the Jews of that age of a divine and miraculous influence? And again, in the case of the young man who addressed him with the flattering title of "good," is not our Lord's appeal founded on the inquirer's ignorance of his real character? See Matt. xix. 16, 17. To a merely human teacher, the title, as the young man intended it, was inapplicable.

It appears, then, that accommodation may be allowed in matters which have no connection with religion, and in these too so far as regards the degree and the form of instruction. But positive accommodation to religious error is not to be found in scripture, neither is it justifiable on moral principles.

The author not only maintains that the apostles accommodated to erroneous views, but also that some of them at least did themselves hold such views in common with their age. The former point has already been considered and limited. What is the evidence alleged to prove the latter? The early history and education of the apostles, their associations before they became connected with Christ, and the incorrect views which they maintained after this connection.—The early history of the apostles, and even the erroneous opinions which they cherished before our Lord's ascension, constitute no proof that erroneous views are to be discovered in their writings; for, by the effusion of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost and subsequently, their minds were enlightened, and, agreeably to the promise of Christ, they were “guided into all the truth” of his religion. That they clung to the expectation of an earthly reign of the Messiah after the effusion of the Holy Spirit, cannot be proved, and indeed is evidently untrue. That in common with a large proportion of their countrymen the apostles had at first imbibed the notion of a temporal Messiah, is quite plain from the Gospels, and the error is referred to by St. Paul as one which he had formerly indulged. “Though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we him (in this manner) no more.” 2 Cor. v. 16. Indeed, it appears from the question of the apostles in Acts i. 6, “Wilt thou at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?” that subsequently to our Lord's resurrection, the same secular feeling predominated. But that so gross an error, and one so inconsistent with spiritual views of Christ's religion, was retained in after life, is a charge which cannot be sustained, and is inconsistent with the promise just referred to. It were strange indeed, if, in a point of such vital importance as this, “their Master had

given them no particular information." Even our Lord's discourses in the gospels abound with instruction on this subject. Should it even be admitted that they did not make such impressions during his life time as might reasonably have been expected, it would still be impossible for any one who believes the scriptures to doubt, that the Spirit not only communicated additional knowledge to the apostles, but also brought to their remembrance the partly forgotten truths respecting the celestial nature of Christ's kingdom, which he had often inculcated. See John xiv. 26; xvi. 13. Dr. Planck does indeed restrict the application of the principle under review to "things, which, properly speaking, do not belong to religious truths." I have already remarked, that in determining the extent of this restriction, honest and candid interpreters must be allowed to differ. But if the expectation of an earthly reign of the Messiah be not a religious error, it will be difficult to know how to distinguish it.

Respecting the other point adduced by the author, attachment to Jewish peculiarities and Levitical ceremonies, the evidence is equally doubtful. It is true that, even after the descent of the Spirit, St. Peter does give evidence of such attachment. If St. Paul enjoined or practised any of the Jewish ceremonies, it was only under peculiar circumstances, which prompted him, like a wise and benevolent man, to yield to prejudices, when he could do so innocently to himself, and with beneficial influence on others. Under circumstances of a contrary kind, he was warm in his opposition. See Gal. v. 2. The same general principles and views may be presumed to have been maintained by the apostles in general, as no evidence can be adduced to the contrary. A suspicion of an opposite kind would be derogatory to their character as enlightened teachers of Christianity, "guided" by the Spirit of truth. Neither is there any scriptural evidence that St. Peter cherished his former attachment to Levitical rites, after the instruction imparted to him on this subject by the vision of the "great sheet." By it God had "showed him that he should not call any man common or unclean." Acts x. 28. The narrative referred to in Gal. ii.

11—14, proves nothing in reference to his sentiments; it only shews that his conduct was culpable. And indeed this is the view which the author of the epistle takes of it. He says that “Peter was to be blamed;” that “he separated himself from the Gentiles,” not through attachment to the Jewish ritual, but “through fear of the Jews,” that he “dissembled,” along with other Jewish converts, and that even “Barnabas was carried away with their dissimulation.” Here is no charge of weak and childish fondness for old prejudices, but of conduct “not according to the truth of the Gospel.”<sup>a</sup> I cannot therefore acquiesce in the view of the author. Nor can I assent to the remark of Mr. Locke in his note on Rom. xvi. 25, that “St. Peter would not have incurred St. Paul’s reproof, if he had been as clear as St. Paul was” in the doctrine of “the law of Moses being abolished by the death of Christ.”

The author’s three limitations appear sufficient to guard the principle of accommodation against abuse, if properly applied. And it is evident to me, that the first and last are both applicable in relation to the cases just stated; and consequently accommodation cannot there be allowed.

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#### NOTE VIII.

IT is not to be denied that Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, and other Christian writers of the second and third centuries, abound with allegorical interpretations. The works also erroneously ascribed by some to Clement of Rome, and to the apostle Barnabas, contain specimens of allegorical trifling, worthy of the Jewish Cabbala. Antecedently to our Lord’s appearance in the world, the Jews were accustomed to this method of exposition. It appears to have arisen after the

<sup>a</sup> Since writing the above, I find that Knapp has given the same view of this matter. The reader is referred to an *Essay on “the doctrines of Paul and James respecting faith and works, compared with the teaching of our Lord, translated from the ‘Scripta varii argumenti,’ by William Thompson,’* and published in the *Biblical Repository*, vol. iii. pp. 189, ss. and especially p. 219.

establishment of the synagogue service during the time of the Maccabees, and to have flourished principally at Alexandria. Most probably it may be traced to the disposition of some Jews to imitate the Greek philosophers, who, with Plato at their head, were accustomed to explain their mythology by the aid of allegory. The fact that this method of interpretation did prevail among the Jews, is proved from the writings of Philo, and from the allegorical expositions or Medrashim, still to be found in very ancient Jewish books, and quoted by their most distinguished commentators. The reader will find many such interpretations from the Talmuds, the book called Sohar or Zohar, <sup>a</sup> and the old extensive commentary, entitled Bereshith Rabba, quoted by Schöttgen, in his work on the Messiah.

But it by no means follows, that the early Christian converts must have fallen into the same method of interpretation. The language of the author appears to be unguarded, and his representations not susceptible of proof. He seems to presume that extravagant allegorical interpretation was universal with the Jews; which need not by any means be allowed. Again he presumes that Jewish converts could have no other system of exposition; whereas it is clear that their reception of Christianity might have imparted simpler and more intelligent views, and in all probability this was often the fact.— “The converts from heathenism would naturally receive Jewish principles of interpretation, inasmuch as they received the Jewish scriptures.” But this conclusion by no means follows. Because they admitted as divine the books of the Old Testament, must it be inferred that they admitted also all the cabalistical puerilities of allegorical triflers? Is it to be taken for granted that the great body of Gentile converts adopted,

<sup>a</sup> This work, which is so called from the word זוהר *splendour*, is generally believed by the Jews to be the production of Rabbi Simeon, the son of Jochai, a pupil of Rabbi Akiba, and to have been written about the year 120, in a cave, where the author was obliged to conceal himself through fear of the emperor Adrian. See Wolf's *Bibliotheca Hebraica*, Vol. iv. p. 1012, s.

with the credulous facility of unthinking and unsuspecting children, the mass of insipid and disconnected comments, which oral tradition had heaped together, because they received from men who had been Jews, "the lively oracles" of God? But how did they "receive the holy scriptures of the Hebrews"? Not as the author's representation would lead us to suppose, from weak Jews, incompetent to teach them the true meaning of the Bible; but from inspired apostles, or from persons directly or indirectly commissioned by the apostles; from "faithful men," well taught in Christian truth themselves, "and able to teach others also." So far then from having been instructed in the silly trifles of Jewish allegory, the first converts must have been imbued with the plain, simple doctrines of the Old Testament, and made acquainted with the facts which it narrates as matters of historic truth.

Now, if we examine the very few documents of the earliest age which are still extant, we shall find that they do not support the author in the view that he has taken. Rosenmüller indeed represents the interpretation of the first century as characterized by allegory, not excepting the writings of the apostles themselves, who explained the Old Testament, according to the manner of their nation; "populare suorum consuetudinem secuti sunt."<sup>a</sup> His proof is drawn principally from the epistle to the Hebrews, the celebrated passage in Galatians, and one or two figurative illustrations in Corinthians and Ephesians. This might of course have been expected from the loose views of inspiration entertained by him, in common with the neological divines of Germany. But even Rosenmüller can find scarcely any thing in the writings of the apostolical fathers, to prove the general prevalence of allegorical exposition among Christians of their age. The letter of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians is a beautiful specimen of simplicity and purity, more resembling the inspired epistles of the New Testament, than any composition extant. He very

<sup>a</sup> See J. Georgii Rosenmüller's Historia Interpretationis in Ecclesia Christiana, Part I. pp. 14, ss.

often alludes to passages in the Old Testament, and combines several together. He quotes from it not with exact verbal accuracy, but, like the apostles, according to the sense of the author. And yet, in this very long letter, only one decidedly allegorical interpretation is to be found. It occurs in the twelfth chapter, where the scarlet rope which Rahab was to fasten from the window of her house as a sign to the destroying Hebrews,<sup>a</sup> is represented as indicating redemption by the blood of Christ. Surely if Clement was devoted to the allegorical system of interpretation, his work might reasonably be expected to afford more than one solitary illustration. The want of others cannot be accounted for by his not commenting on the passages quoted. Indeed this very fact affords argument in opposition to the charge advanced against him, inasmuch as the admirers of that system would not fail to exhibit to their readers the supposed allegorical instruction afforded by the quotations.

The same remarks might be made in relation to the seven epistles of Ignatius. A discussion respecting their genuineness would here be out of place. The contrary has never yet been proved, nor have the arguments alleged in their defence ever been satisfactorily answered. Bishop Pearson's *Vindiciae* is the store-house, from which modern defenders of the smaller epistles of Ignatius have drawn their weapons. There are some obscure places in these ancient letters, but no allegory.—The epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians also contains many quotations from the New Testament, but no allegory. <sup>b</sup>—Whether the Shepherd of Hermas was written in the first or second century is somewhat doubtful. It is itself an allegory, or a series of allegories: but it is worthy of consideration, that it contains no allegorical expositions.

<sup>a</sup> Josh. ii. 18.

<sup>b</sup> Dr. Frederic Lücke, in his able, though somewhat mystical commentary on the writings of the Evangelist John, says, (Introduction to the first epistle, p. 3,) that Polycarp's epistle to the Philippians cannot be proved to be spurious, and has never yet been proved to be corrupted. From such a man this attestation ought to be considered as entitled to great weight.

## NOTE IX.

An account of the early pietistical controversies may be found in Mosheim, Cent. xvii. Sect. ii. Part ii. chap. i. § xxvi, ss. Both he and Schröckh speak in the most exalted terms of Spener, the reviver of the study of the Bible, as a man of learning and piety, lamenting at the same time the consequences which resulted from the injudicious zeal of some of his followers. Among the most distinguished of the pietists was Francke, founder of the orphan house at Halle, (a man not to be mentioned without the highest respect for his assiduous labours, and for his faithful dependence on God in pressing difficulties;) and Rambach, a most respectable scholar, and pious Christian divine. The editor of the lectures of Morus on Hermeneutics, A. Eichstädt, whose views on the subject of interpretation are directly opposed to those of the pietists, and who does not hesitate to say, that they “pressed on every letter, hunted out pregnant senses, and trifled with emphases,” awards no slight praise to Rambach. He not only records the judgment of Buddaeus, Wollius, and others, that this writer’s superiority entirely eclipsed all others of this class, but gives his own opinion as follows:—“Any one who estimates fairly the good and the bad, and makes a proper allowance for the period in which Rambach lived, will undoubtedly praise the learning of the man, who acquired more by reading than his censurers listened to; he will approve the correctness of his logical precepts; nor will he be surprised, that his compendium acquired such authority, as to be very much used in schools, and illustrated by some learned men in works written expressly for the purpose.” See his Preface to Mori Hermeneutica, pp. xxv. xxvii.

The remark of Dr. Planck, that “it was a very common usage with the Greeks, to employ compound words interchangeably with the simple,” is by no means necessarily applicable to the word *ὑπερβολή*. The *ὑπερ* is evidently intensive, and the compound term expresses great elevation, agreeably to

our own version, “ highly exalted ; the same as ὑψόω, but more emphatic.” Robinson’s Lexicon, from Wahl’s Clavis.— So also the ὑπερ in ὑπερνικῶμεν, Rom. viii. 37, which is expressive of the completeness of the conquest, and very well rendered by Dr. Bloomfield, “ we are triumphantly victorious.” See an article in the Biblical Repository, “ on the force of the Greek prepositions in compound verbs, as employed in the New Testament, by J. A. H. Tittmann, translated by the editor.” Vol. iii. pp. 45, ss.

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#### NOTE X.

For a notice of other works on Interpretation, and, in general, on the whole Bible, or on particular books, the reader may consult Horne’s Introduction, as referred to in Note p. 65 <sup>a</sup> Since the publication of Mr. Horne’s sixth edition, a new translation of Ernesti’s Institutio, by the Rev. C. H. Terrot, has appeared as the first and fourth volumes of the **BIBLICAL CABINET**, published at Edinburgh, in 1832–4.<sup>b</sup>

Although I am aware that several of the works mentioned by the author might have been omitted, without any injury

<sup>a</sup> In this work, which is within the reach of students in general, so full a notice of English and other publications may be seen, as to make it superfluous to insert a list of them here. The learned author furnishes his readers with notices of “ general Bibliographical works on the editions, literary history, criticism, &c. of the Bible,” then with accounts of “ entire texts and versions of the Bible,” both ancient and modern. To these he adds works on “ Sacred Philology, or the criticism and interpretation of the scriptures.” These comprehend “ treatises on the canon of scripture and on apocryphal books; introductions to the study of the scriptures; treatises on the sacred text, its style, idiom, and versions; on the original languages of scripture, and grammars and lexicons thereof; commentaries and paraphrases: concordances and dictionaries, common place books, indexes and analyses of the Bible;” and lastly, “ treatises on Biblical antiquities, and on other historical circumstances of the Bible.”

<sup>b</sup> “ This work, (the **BIBLICAL CABINET**,) which is still in progress, promises to be of singular utility to Biblical students.” Horne’s Introd. 7th Edit. Vol. ii. App. p. 150.

to this Introduction as a manual for the American student; yet I have not felt myself justified in rejecting the title of any book which he thought proper to introduce, in order to illustrate the literature of his country, in the departments under review. Should a more extensive list of such works be desired, it may be found in E. F. K. Rosenmüller's *Handbuch, or Manual for the Literature of Biblical Criticism and Interpretation*, and G. B. Winer's *Handbuch, or Manual of Theological Literature*, principally of Protestant Germany.

The reader cannot fail to observe, that the works mentioned by the author are principally those of his own countrymen, the most prominent of which is Luther's Bible. If he should be surprised, that the translator has added nothing respecting our own version, and other English works of great judgment and learning, he is requested to ascribe the omission, not to a want of due regard for their eminent merit, but simply for the reason above suggested, and from an unwillingness to swell his book into a large volume.

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#### NOTE XI.

Compare the remark made in Note, p. 64, towards the end. Among the late works on the whole Bible, the following must not be past over. The writings of the Old and New Testaments, translated by J. C. W. Augusti and W. M. L. De Wette, in 6 vols., 8vo., Heidelberg, 1809—1814. The work is in German, and comprehends the Apocrypha. It is divided into Sections, and in addition to the translation, the authors give occasionally at the foot of the page other versions of difficult passages which had been differently rendered by other critics.—A valuable work for the Biblical student is the Latin translation of the Old Testament by J. A. Dathe, in 6 vols. 8vo., Halle, 1784—1794. The text, in neat and plain Latin, is accompanied by a few short notes on difficult places, which in general are clear and instructive. It is to be regretted, that on some of the subjects connected

with the first part of Genesis, the author has adopted an interpretation, agreeing for the most part with the views of Eichhorn.—Rosenmüller's (Ern. Fred. Cha.) *Scholia in Vetus Testamentum* is well known. The 3d edition, so improved by the author that it may be regarded as a new work, began to be published at Leipzig in 1821; it is not yet completed. The volumes that have been published are the following:—On the Pentateuch, 3; on Job, 1; on the Psalms, 3; on the writings of Solomon, 2; on Isaiah, 3; on Jeremiah, 2; on Ezekiel, 2; on Daniel, 1; and on the Minor Prophets, 4.<sup>a</sup>—A compendium of this work, compiled, under the inspection of the author,<sup>b</sup> is also in progress, and several volumes have already been published. The theological views of Rosenmüller are so well known, that it must be unnecessary to caution the reader to be on his guard against their influence.<sup>c</sup>—The Commentaries of Patrick, Lowth, Arnald, and Whitby, on the Old and New Testaments, including the Apocrypha, are of established reputation. The reader will find in them a vast fund of valuable matter.—Gill's and Dodd's Expositions are particularly worthy of his attention.—Poole's Annotations upon the Holy Bible, in two volumes folio, is also a valuable work, which the English reader may consult with great profit. The notes in general are brief, and contain solutions of the principal difficulties, with replies to objections. See Horne, Vol. ii. App. pp. 231—247.

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#### NOTE XII.

The translator feels that he cannot conclude these notes more suitably, than by urging the author's last remark on the

<sup>a</sup> An additional volume on the historical books, is now preparing for publication. [The first part has since been published, containing Joshua.]

<sup>b</sup> By J. C. S. Lechner.

<sup>c</sup> For a literary notice of the Compendium by Professor Stuart, see *Biblical Repository*, vol. ii. pp. 210, ss.

attention of theological students. For them, principally, this work was undertaken; and if it shall aid, through the blessing of divine Providence, in promoting a fundamental and continued study of the holy scriptures, the intended object will have been gained, and the labour of the writer abundantly compensated.

It is an admitted principle among Protestants, that all revealed knowledge of religion is to be drawn from the Bible. "Whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of faith."<sup>a</sup> How to determine the genuineness of the Bible, and to ascertain its meaning, are the two leading topics, to an acquaintance with which, the preceding work is intended to introduce the reader. A satisfactory interpretation of the Bible must, of course, be founded on the original texts; it must be an interpretation of the Hebrew of the Old Testament, and of the Greek of the New. The very first condition, therefore, required of him who would become an interpreter, is a competent acquaintance with these languages; that is to say, such an acquaintance as shall enable him to read and analyse with grammatical correctness. With regard to the New Testament, this may universally be expected, and is in a considerable degree complied with. But, with regard to the Old, the very contrary is true. And yet it would be difficult to give a good reason, why a young man of education should think of beginning to explain the Old Testament, without having acquired a knowledge of Hebrew. I hazard nothing by remarking, that very few intelligent candidates for the ministry pursue their studies many months without regretting that their philological preparation is so imperfect. If those who intend to become students of divinity, could be induced to acquire a considerable acquaintance with Hebrew, before commencing their theological course, they would prosecute the study of the Bible with ten-fold satisfaction. They would feel that they were advancing towards the desired object on solid ground, if not with rapi-

<sup>a</sup> Article Sixth of the Prot. Epis. Church in the United States.

dity, yet with certainty. They would be able to appreciate the instructions of a teacher, and would the sooner become prepared to judge themselves respecting their correctness, and to form opinions on the various topics connected with interpretation. Then, instead of paying no more attention to Hebrew, than is absolutely necessary in order to enable a student to meet the unavoidable demands of a Theological seminary, and after entering on the duties of the ministry, abandoning it entirely; it would be read during the course of instruction with comparative ease, and pursued in after life with pleasure. The uninterrupted application of three or four hours a day for six months, directed, first to the grammar of the language, the forms of the words, and especially the paradigms of the verbs, with which the learner ought to make himself thoroughly acquainted, and then to reading and analysing, would enable a diligent student to realize the advantages just mentioned. The facility with which so important an end can be attained, ought to be regarded as a strong motive on every candidate for the ministry to make the effort, unless prevented by considerations, which impartial and conscientious examination, will allow him to regard as sufficient to free him from the obligation.

FINIS.







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